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The Florida Chautauqua as Text: Creating and Satisfying a Disposition to Appropriate Cultural Goods in Northwest Florida.

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**THE FLORIDA CHAUTAUQUA AS TEXT: CREATING AND
SATISFYING A DISPOSITION TO APPROPRIATE CULTURAL GOODS
IN NORTHWEST FLORIDA**

A Dissertation

**Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

in

The Department of Speech Communication

**by
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May 1997**

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation is to demonstrate that the Florida Chautauqua in De Funiak Springs, Florida, was primarily a commercial venture which pretended to a goal of offering cultural, educational, and religious products. In the Chautauqua's early years, it succeeded because it could exploit the economic and cultural situation. The Assembly tried to create a market for "culture" by developing cultural competencies in potential consumers so that those consumers would "buy" what the Chautauqua could sell. As the situation changed, the Florida Chautauqua, though it tried, could not adapt enough to be viable. To support the argument, I describe the institution known as the Florida Chautauqua in terms of its presentation as "text." Pierre Bourdieu's description of cultural competence and the role of education, both formal and informal, in creating an ability to recognize cultural value in goods and then providing a means to appropriate those goods is central to this study.

Throughout its thirty-five year history, various themes were dominant. The initial period (roughly 1885-1896) was dominated by religion. During the second period (1897-1906) entertainment came to the forefront. During both periods education was an important factor as

well. The last period (1907-1920) was marked by an assembly in flux, unable to settle on a dominant theme.

The printed programs provide valuable insight into the performance text (those events which comprised the formal program) and cultural text (the amalgamation of performance events plus informal events such as social interaction) of the Florida Chautauqua. This study is primarily a content analysis of the assembly and is not meant to address issues such as the relationship with the New York Chautauqua, the specific correspondence with changes in religion or entertainment in the United States in general, or reconstruction and the Civil War.

CHAPTER 1

Formation of the Florida Chautauqua as Text

The Chautauqua movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is a familiar institution to many people even today. As a cultural and educational institution the Chautauqua gathering provided enlightenment and education for thousands of Americans each summer. Its impact on education and culture has been the focus of previous studies (Eckman, 1989; Bonnell, 1988; Reynolds, 1961; Hadley, 1956; Utlaut, 1972; Kniker, 1969).

Scholars have identified at least three basic forces leading to the founding of the Chautauqua movement: the lyceum movement of the early nineteenth century, the poorly developed educational system, and an increased interest in religion following the Civil War (DeBolt, 110). The lyceum provided a public platform for debate and other verbal presentations. The lack of widespread news and entertainment sources created a void filled in part by the lyceum. Public education suffered from a lack of respect and properly trained teachers. Private education was affordable only to a relatively small element of American society. The church gained in importance as individuals ravaged by the Civil War sought respite from the horror.

In response to a perceived need for improved educational instruction through the Sunday school of the Methodist Episcopal church, two members of the denomination, John Heyl Vincent, a minister, and Lewis Miller, a layman, founded the original Chautauqua (later dubbed the Mother Chautauqua) on the shores of Lake Chautauqua in New York state in 1874 (Irwin, 12). "Its purpose was to bring together Sunday-school teachers for conference and for a course of systematic instruction in the line of Biblical knowledge, and eventually of all learning, secular as well as sacred. . . ." (*Chautauqua Camp and Fireside*, October 1887, 116). Other areas of instruction including elocution, art, music, and theology supplemented the original training in Sunday school instructional technique.

The Chautauqua method of instruction, as well as its entertainment features, gained in popularity throughout the nation with the appearance of numerous assemblies based on the plan of the original Chautauqua. Within thirty years of the beginning of the Chautauqua movement more than 150 different Chautauquas were holding meetings (Richmond, 95). Japan, Russia, Ceylon, China, Chile, Sandwich Islands, Bulgaria, Scotland, and England organized assemblies, and South Africa reported an assembly of 1,200 members (*Chautauqua Camp and Fireside*, October 1887, 117).

A prominent educational feature of the Chautauqua was an extension called the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. The C.L.S.C., as it was known, was designed to

promote habits of reading and study in nature, art, science, and in secular and sacred literature, in connection with the routine of daily life (especially among those whose educational

advantages have been limited), so as to secure to them the college student's general outlook upon the world and life, and to develop the habit of close, connected persistent thinking (*Chautauqua Camp and Fireside*, October 1887, 117).

The founders of the Chautauqua in New York structured the course to be used within a group or by individuals away from the assembly. The C.L.S.C. became a prominent feature of other assemblies including the Florida Chautauqua. Round table discussions of literary works and subjects assigned to the C.L.S.C. reading circles were regular features at the assemblies.

The New York Chautauqua was well on the way to establishing itself by the time Northwest Florida reached the point of considering a gathering like the Chautauqua. The settling of land and completion of a rail link to eastern parts of Florida were more of a concern for Northwest Florida during the early years of the New York Chautauqua. William Dudley Chipley moved to Pensacola in 1876 to manage the Pensacola railroad and was responsible for surveying the land to complete the line between Pensacola and River Junction just east of the Apalachicola River. In May 1881, Chipley, Col. T. T. Wright, Major W. J. VanKirk, and the rest of the survey party came across a section of Walton county that immediately caught their attention. The presence of an almost perfectly round lake one mile in diameter as well as a pristine forest prompted Chipley to build a station at that location, even though no town yet existed. Chipley envisioned the area as a great winter resort, Wright proposed the building of a tabernacle to honor the Euchee Valley Scottish Presbyterians who had first settled the county (Wright had first proposed a tabernacle in the county in the early

1870's), and VanKirk proposed the building of a Presbyterian college at the site (McKinnon, 355). All of these visions came to fruition in some form in the later years. The party named the area Lake De Funiak, after Fred R. De Funiak, an officer with the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. The first residents drew up plans and laid out the town in 1883.

In August 1884, news reached the area that Dr. A. H. Gillet was looking for an appropriate site for a winter Chautauqua. C. C. Banfill, one of the earliest citizens of Lake De Funiak, was sent to Jacksonville in an effort to persuade Gillet and his party to view Lake De Funiak. Banfill brought Dr. Gillet and Rev. C. C. McLean to Lake De Funiak, which consisted of little more than a handful of homes, and, despite constant rain that hampered the scouting party, he succeeded in persuading the men to establish the Florida Chautauqua at the site (McKinnon, 358). Dr. Gillet, who made his home in Cincinnati, Ohio, proceeded with plans for the first Florida Chautauqua in early 1885.¹ The vast, unsettled land isolated De Funiak Springs, a condition which still exists today. This isolation coupled with the fact that the town was settled after the Civil War and had a high percentage of Northern families apparently accounts for the absence of any mention of reconstruction or carpetbaggers.

¹The editor of the *Chautauqua Camp and Fireside* gives a different version of this story. He recalls meeting C. C. Banfill in January, 1883, at a conference for the Methodist Episcopal church in Jacksonville, Florida. According to the editor, Banfill was in attendance searching for a preacher for the new town of Lake De Funiak when he overheard the conversation regarding the Chautauqua. The editor accompanied the group and reports the same basic scenario as above. (*Chautauqua Camp and Fireside*, December 1890, 4)

On February 12, 1885, the Florida Legislature officially incorporated the Florida Chautauqua. Section three of the law stated the aim of the new institution:

The object and purpose of this corporation are to establish and maintain an educational institution known as an Assembly on the general plan of the Chautauqua, New York, with courses of lectures and class instruction in art, science, philosophy, history, literature, theology and morals, and other branches of study. The said Assembly to be located at Lake De Funiak, Walton County, Florida, and to have annual or semiannual sessions as may be deemed expedient (Acts of Florida).

Additional provisions of the Act established the advisory and supervisory boards and governed the intake of money and distribution of profit. (See Appendix A for the complete Act.)

Gillet, working out of Cincinnati, Ohio, served as superintendent of instruction, responsible for contracting speakers and instructors. Chipley and others worked on a local board of directors overseeing the construction and preparation of the grounds for the first assembly. The first printed program enthusiastically promoted the new Chautauqua assembly while being careful not to detract from the original assembly in New York.

Initial reports indicated that attendance was very low at the start of the first assembly. Walton County resident John McKinnon attended the first meeting during which classes were established. According to McKinnon approximately fifty men, women and children were present. One hundred attended the first evening session. At the close of the meeting, McKinnon reports that W. F. Sherwin, music director, addressed the group.

After I had signed my contract for my services here as Chorus Director, with Dr. Gillet, he sent me this program. I looked over it carefully, took my pencil, put down the R. R. fare of every individual connected with it, to De Funiak and back home, the hotel bill of each, the cost of the talent as I knew it to be with us, and added something for contingencies, struck a line and made the addition, and found that it footed up \$11,000.00. I wrote at once to Dr. Gillet, asked him what was the population of the city of De Funiak, that he proposed to render this program in? He answered me promptly, "Only a few hundred." I was astonished and when I came and saw the few houses around in these woods, I was more astonished. But since I came and learned more, I find that you need just such an institution as this located permanently in these splendid grounds, around this lovely little lake. . . . But let me tell you here on this opening night, that if you want this institution here, you can have it, it depends upon your attitude towards it, and not upon this man or that man, nor upon these moneyed men, but upon you in this little growing town, just now in its embryo. Put your heads and shoulders together—work and pull together and I guarantee that you can have this institution here as long as it will be a blessing to you. Every one of you go home tonight, write to your relatives and friends and tell them what a good thing you have here, and ask them to come and see and you will be surprised how many will come and see and stay (McKinnon, 360-61).

The people responded to the challenge, both to attend personally as many of the sessions as they could and to get additional people to attend. "The people had a mind in those days to follow good advice and they wote [sic] and they came to see, and stayed—they came to listen and to learn, neither darkness, rain or cold kept them back. Those at a distance often brought their dinners and stayed until after supper. . . . And before this first session closed, the Tabernacle was full on Saturdays" (McKinnon, 361).

The *Florida Chautauqua* newspaper in January 1886 reviewed the first assembly and quoted individuals who had attended. One noted that:

"[u]nder great disadvantages of imperfect advertising, with the New Orleans Exposition as a rival, it was not known to one in a thousand of the people it came to bless. But it made its way, by the force of sheer merit and extraordinary attractions, till, from a little group of less than a hundred people on its opening day, it closed with an enthusiastic crowd a thousand strong, brought in on excursion trains from towns and cities a hundred miles away." (The *Florida Chautauqua*, January 1886, 13).

Later reports indicated that the initial outlay for the first year's program was more than \$11,000.00, with income of \$400 (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1896, 4).

In this dissertation I argue that the Florida Chautauqua was primarily a commercial venture which pretended to a goal of offering cultural, educational, and religious products. In the Chautauqua's early years, it succeeded because it could exploit the economic and cultural situation. The Assembly tried to create a market for "culture" by developing cultural competencies in potential consumers so that those consumers would "buy" what the Chautauqua could sell. As the situation changed, the Florida Chautauqua, though it tried, could not adapt enough to be viable. To support the argument, I describe the institution known as the Florida Chautauqua in terms of its presentation as "text." Text as a performative descriptor is employed in a variety of (although generally somewhat related) situations. In "Blurred Genres: The Refiguration of Social Thought" Clifford Geertz notes that textual analogy "is a dangerously unfocused term" (175). To cloud the issue further, writers often link the term *text* with modifiers such as "cultural" and "performance." This study makes use of all of these terms as well. The scope of this study is limited to primarily a content analysis of the Florida Chautauqua proper. It is not the purpose of this study to explore

such issues as the relationship of the Florida Chautauqua to the New York assembly, the status of religion and American society as a whole during this period, or the comparison of events in this assembly to American society in general.

Geertz gives a summary of three analogies that have found their way into contemporary social theory, providing interpretive paradigms of events, in terms borrowed from other genres: the drama analogy, the game analogy, and the text analogy. The text analogy used in this paper provides a schematic for re-contextualizing events—providing a new, yet familiar environment of ideas and concepts that provide a conceptual basis for defining actions and/or verbal events. The textuality of the Florida Chautauqua includes the processes by which the readers (in this case the participants and attendees) infer meaning. The processes include both the formal program made up of scheduled events such as classes, lectures, musical concerts, readings, dramas, religious services, and special meetings, and the informal facets of the assembly such as interaction with other attendees, the town of De Funiak Springs, and the physical plant of the assembly. These are all “strands” which in combination constitute the text Florida Chautauqua.

The great virtue of the extension of the notion of text beyond things written on paper or carved into stone is that it trains attention on precisely this phenomenon: on how the inscription of action is brought about, what its vehicles are and how they work, and on what the fixation of meaning from the flow of events—history from what happened, thought from thinking, culture from behavior—implies for sociological interpretation. (Geertz, 175).

The application of the textual analogy provides a vehicle for training attention on the intricacies that comprise the Florida Chautauqua.

A variety of terms assist in the analysis of the textuality of the Florida Chautauqua and assist in clarifying various aspects of the event. Terms such as “cultural” and “performance” modify the basic concept of text as the assemblage of multitudinous strands or processes and as the inscription of action. For this paper, “performance text” refers specifically to those events that composed the actual Chautauqua program. An analysis of the performance text looks at such factors as the type of event, the performer(s), the subject or content, the order and frequency of events, and any other factors specific to the various programs. The performance text is in essence a subchapter of the text. It is one facet that contributes to the writing of the general text. The lack of personal accounts will limit an analysis of the audience and its reaction to participation in the performance text. This dissertation will include specific comments or reviews that appear in print.

“Cultural text” is somewhat more difficult to define, although it may be partially defined in connection with Piere Bourdieu’s notion of cultural competency. Cultural competency refers to the individual’s ability to identify and, at least on a limited basis, participate in those events deemed part of the current canon of culture. Depending on the time frame, competency may include the appreciation of art forms such as opera, or differing genres of painting, general education, or comprehension of religious topics.

The somewhat elusive nature of these terms of necessity causes some overlap in the application of the terminology. The terminology

does, however, provide a valuable tool for analyzing the Florida Chautauqua.

The performance text is concerned with recognized, structured, and organized events generally identified as performative in nature. For the purposes of this study, the events, both formal and informal, structured and non-structured, which contribute to the cultural competency of the reader/attendee compose the cultural text. The acquisition of cultural competency came through such events as lectures, music concerts, and travelogues, but also through daily interaction with others in attendance and through the community setting.

From its inception, the Florida Chautauqua had the potential to impact the acquisition of cultural competence for a wide spectrum of individuals both in Northwest Florida and throughout the United States due to the cultural situation existing at the Florida Chautauqua's inception. Cultural competence was central to the marketing strategy of the promoters during the formative years. Pierre Bourdieu addresses this cultural competence in several essays, noting that

[t]he disposition to appropriate cultural goods is the product of general or specific education, institutionalized or not, which creates (or cultivates) art competence as a mastery of instruments for appropriation of these goods, and which creates the 'cultural need' by giving the means to satisfy it.

The repeated perception of works of a certain style encourages the unconscious internalization of the rules that govern the production of these works. (Bourdieu, 227).

By incorporating into its program orchestras, singers, readers and impersonators, travelogues, and later moving pictures, the Florida Chautauqua created this "cultural need" Bourdieu speaks of and

simultaneously provided the means to satisfy it. Those who attended the Florida Chautauqua also left with a greater “disposition to appropriate cultural goods” in other locales beyond the Chautauqua grounds. Since many of the attendees were from the panhandle of Florida, especially Pensacola, it seems logical that the increased competency gained at the Chautauqua would affect their roles in local cultural life.

Throughout its thirty-six year history, the Florida Chautauqua touted the educational advantages it offered to anyone who attended. The education was both formal and informal. Formal education took the form of class and individual instruction in art, literature, music, elocution, and religious training. Informal education came by means of the scheduled entertainment and other events. Soloists, quartets, bands, and orchestras repeatedly exposed patrons to music. Exposure to great literature came through the performances of elocutionists, readers, and impersonators. In this manner Chautauquans both consciously and unconsciously mastered the tools necessary for cultural competence. Bourdieu writes that

Connoisseurship is an ‘art’ which, like the art of thinking or the art of living, cannot be imparted entirely in the form of precepts or instruction, and apprenticeship to it presupposes the equivalent of prolonged contact between disciple and initiate in traditional education, i.e. repeated contact with the work (or with works of the same class) (Bourdieu, 228).

Those who attended the Florida Chautauqua would have opportunity for repeated contact in a variety of disciplines, both within the individual assemblies and in future assemblies if they attended.

According to Bourdieu, education and art competence form a necessary union.

Charismatic ideology is based on parenthesizing the relationship, evident as soon as it is revealed, between art competence and education, which alone is capable of creating both the disposition to recognize a value in cultural goods and the competence which gives a meaning to this disposition by making it possible to appropriate such goods (Bourdieu, 233-234).

The Florida Chautauqua illustrates this relationship fully. While the assembly may not have been fully cognizant of the fact, the education it afforded provided the disposition and competency Bourdieu references. Because of the lack of personal records, however, it is difficult to measure the success of this union.

The Chautauqua program attempted to provide attendees with cultural competency in such areas as literature, music, elocution and theater, and, at least initially, religious themes in order to sell them participation in the Chautauqua. Competency was obtained through attendance at readings, concerts, and sermons in which attendees could see these cultural goods in practice and through formal and informal training sessions, generally in the format of coursework, designed to provide individuals with the tools to practice these goods themselves.

A frequent selling point was the interaction with educated people and the general broadening experience that the assembly offers:

People are gathered here from every part of the United States and Canada. . . . There is no narrow, mean, and one-sided life here; every thing rests upon a broad, liberal, intelligent foundation. There are no lonely strangers—no disappointed, homesick people. From morning until night there is something for every hour to suit the desire and taste of every one. . . . De

Funiak is cosmopolitan, and is therefore a most desirable place. There is one advantage, especially, which should by no means be overlooked; namely, that the stranger comes in contact with the resident population, and thus forms friendships and learns things that are wholly impossible at a mere pleasure resort or hotel. All unite in the endeavor to get most of the good to be found here. (The *Florida Chautauqua*, January 1887, 135)

The management assured the potential attendee of a well-rounded experience not limited to just official functions of the Chautauqua. The comprehensive experience was a significant feature of the cultural text. The education was “broad, liberal” and gained in part from contact with the residents, potentially providing knowledge “wholly impossible at a mere pleasure resort or hotel.” This contact, combined with formal events, contributed to the cultural competency of attendees and this is an important definer of the cultural text.

Bourdieu also addresses the question of legitimacy. Who or what determines what goods are qualified to be “cultural?” This study often refers to cultural goods made available to the public through the promoters' selection or through popular demand. Other systems which gave value to goods influenced these choices.

Given that works of art exist as symbolic objects only if they are known and recognized, that is, socially instituted as works of art and received by spectators capable of knowing and recognizing them as such, the sociology of art and literature has to take as its object not only the material production but also the symbolic production of the work, i.e. the production of the value of the work. It therefore has to consider as contributing to production not only the direct producers of the work in its materiality (artist, writer, etc.) but also the producers of meaning and value of the work -- critics, publishers, gallery directors and the whole set of agents whose combined efforts produce consumers capable of knowing and recognizing the work of art as such, in particular teachers (but also families, etc.) (Bourdieu, 37).

The Florida Chautauqua management, performers, teachers and lecturers participated in the production of value in the goods presented at the assembly.

Throughout its years the Florida Chautauqua illustrated at least two of the three principles of legitimacy through its program.

. . . [W]e find three competing principles of legitimacy. First, there is the specific principle of legitimacy, i.e., the recognition granted by the set of producers who produce for other producers, their competitors, i.e. by the autonomous self-sufficient world of 'art for art's sake', meaning art for artists. Secondly, there is the principle of legitimacy corresponding to 'bourgeois' taste and to the consecration bestowed by the dominant fractions of the dominant class and by private tribunals, such as *salons*, or public, state-guaranteed ones, such as academies, which sanction the inseparably ethical and aesthetic (and therefore political) taste of the dominant. Finally, there is the principle of legitimacy which its advocates call 'popular', i.e. the consecration bestowed by the choice of ordinary consumers, the 'mass audience' (Bourdieu, 50-51).

The opening years of the Florida Chautauqua demonstrated the second principle, while later years openly declared that the choice of goods offered at the assembly resulted from popular choice. In this manner, various groups at different times in the Chautauqua's history served as the arbiters of culture.

A significant amount of written material exists related to the Florida Chautauqua. Primarily available in the format of programs and newspapers advertising the assembly, the written text is vital in recovering the larger text.

The programs and newspapers written for and about the yearly gathering reveal an important aspect of the creation and sustaining of the Florida Chautauqua as text and are the basis for the recovery of the performance text. The management printed programs or newspaper-

like publications each year prior to the commencement of the Chautauqua program and made them available to the public. Sending the programs in advance served to advertise the various class offerings as well as the general content with its entertainment and educational opportunities. The printed matter invited individuals with questions or comments about the program to write the secretary for particulars (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1893, 2).

Original programs are extant for twenty-seven of the thirty-five assemblies. No programs are currently known to exist for the years 1889-1892² (assemblies 5-8), 1901 (17), 1905 (21), 1914 (30), and 1918 (34).³ A program for a pseudo-Chautauqua gathering in 1926 is also available. The 1926 gathering attempted to look like the original series but was merely a shadow in content and structure, composed of little more than a short festival.

Beginning in January 1886 the management published the *Florida Chautauqua* newspaper series from Cincinnati, Ohio. Originally established as a quarterly paper, (*The Florida Chautauqua*, January 1886, 8) the assembly eventually published the newspaper on a

²There is a partial program for the 1891 session in the December 1890 *Chautauqua Camp and Fireside*. A copy of Dr. Gillet's superintendent's report for the 1892 session giving general details of the program's content is also available.

³The 1893 program promotes itself as the tenth anniversary of the assembly. No evidence exists for any double assemblies, but sometime between 1889 and 1892 the numbering changed. According to DeBolt the explanation may be that some of those involved started the counting with the initial planning in 1884 (DeBolt, personal correspondence, May, 1996). There was no session in 1894. DeBolt's theory is supported by the program for 1899 which proclaims "Our 15th Year" and then shows the dates 1884-1899 at the bottom of the title page.

monthly basis. The title of the paper changed from the *Florida Chautauqua* to the *Chautauqua Camp and Fireside* with the June 1887 issue. Extant issues begin with the first published issue in January, 1886, and continue sporadically through December, 1890, with a total of sixteen papers available in full or partial formats. These newspapers contain information on the program for the fourth assembly in 1888 and preliminary plans for the seventh program in 1891.

An analysis of the printed texts associated with the Florida Chautauqua reveals important information about the association as a text, in construction and maintenance. I evaluated both the programs and the newspapers by examining two distinct divisions of information they contain: the detailed program of scheduled events and the rest of the printed information, including descriptive front matter, train schedules, and general advertisements. The analysis of the detailed program information, especially the scheduled events, allows for the reconstruction of a performance text, demonstrating the focus of content and revealing the commercial goal of the Chautauqua event. The analysis also clearly identifies those cultural goods which were prominent during various periods and the vehicles utilized to assist the audience in acquiring cultural competency. The analysis of the remaining printed matter contributes to an overall understanding and reconstruction of a cultural text represented in the Florida Chautauqua.

To aid in the analysis of the program content, I categorized each event to allow for a breakdown and examination of content. I used the following categories: 1) religious, 2) entertainment —music only, 3) entertainment — speech only, 4) entertainment—mixed, 5) travelogue,

6) educational — literary, 7) educational—Chautauqua classes, 8) educational — other, 9) special causes or events, and 10) other or unidentifiable events. A sample analysis is included in Appendix B.

Religious events included sermons, Bible studies and devotionals, Vespers services, class work in theology and other lecture events in which the topic indicated a religious nature (for example, “The Morality of the Old Testament”). I placed entertainment events into three categories — entertainment that was solely or primarily musical in nature, entertainment that was solely or primarily speech in nature, and those entertainment events that contained a mixture of methodologies. In the early years of the assembly, the third category of entertainment was primarily speech and music events; however, as the years passed, entertainment extended to different media, including moving pictures and physical activities such as Indian club swinging. The travelogue category designates those program events that dealt with travel or presented varying destinations in a descriptive manner, usually involving the use of stereopticon views or other visual media.

Because the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circles were significant in the general Chautauqua movement, a prominent feature of the programs, at least initially, was literary topics. For this reason, I established a category just for such events. The C.L.S.C. began in 1878 at the New York Chautauqua. By 1891 (the sixth year of the Florida Chautauqua) 180,000 had enrolled worldwide. The C.L.S.C. and its related entities, including the monthly magazine *The Chautauquan*, was “devoted to the promotion of true culture” (Chautauqua Institution, *C.L.S.C. History and Tradition*, online). Next to

the religious aspects, the educational aspects of the Chautauqua were central to the Chautauquan ideal.

The assembly offered a variety of classes each year, varying from elocution to china painting. Although the program included such class offerings as music and elocution (in varying forms) each year, the other course offerings varied greatly. Events that were apparently educational in nature but whose exact character could not be identified were included in the general education category. These events were generally listed as lecture situations. Special causes and events included meetings of such movements as the Women's Christian Temperance Union and organizations such as the Southern Forestry and Agricultural Congress.

Central, though, to an understanding of the Florida Chautauqua as text is the underlying theme of commerciality. The assembly aspired to economic success. The involvement of the railroad through individuals like W. D. Chipley provided the initial interest in economic success. As the only major reliable means of reaching Lake De Funiak, the railroad stood to gain financially from increased ridership if the Chautauqua were successful. The railroad had been granted 3.9 million acres of undeveloped/ unexplored land when it built the line from River Junction to Pensacola (Ellsworth, 62). If the Florida Chautauqua were successful, thousands of attendees would ride through this land and potentially settle it, bringing further revenues to the railroad. The incorporation act includes detailed instructions on the making and distribution of profit. (See Appendix A, sections nine through twelve.) Even the opening night statement by Sherwin,

reported earlier, while ostensibly promoting the cultural values of the assembly, contains a strong economic message as well. The expansion of the physical plant also relied on continued economic growth while concomitantly contributing to the growth by providing room for expanded offerings.

CHAPTER 2

The Florida Chautauqua as Text: the Physical Plant

The physical layout of the Florida Chautauqua underwent tremendous changes throughout the assembly's history. The choice of buildings contributed to the cultural text of the Florida Chautauqua. The shifting use of buildings mirrors the shifting themes through the years.

While the number and location of buildings changed, the center of the Chautauqua grounds and the focal point of the gathering was always Lake De Funiak. The location and beauty of the lake first attracted the attention of W. D. Chipley and the original survey party for the Pensacola and Atlantic Railroad. The lake would always be a prominent promotional point in the written material for the Florida Chautauqua. The first program described the lake and its surrounding environs:

The grounds of the Assembly Association surround a beautiful lake just one mile in circumference, and as near a perfect circle as can well be. The water is pure and cold, and in some places the sounding line shows a depth of sixty-four feet. From the lake the ground gradually rises to the edge of a basin about two hundred and fifty feet from the water; the outer circle of the basin being as nearly perfect in form as the lake itself. The gentle slope between the crest of the hill and the margin of the lake will be laid out in a beautiful park, with a wide drive and promenade surrounding the lake. Within this park all the public buildings of

the Assembly, including the churches of the village, will be located (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1885, 1)

Later programs proclaimed the uniqueness of the lake declaring the lack of comparable bodies of water anywhere in the United States. Figure 2.1 shows the town of De Funiak Springs and some of the Chautauqua buildings around the lake.

The buildings for the Assembly were still in the planning stage when the first promotional program was sent out. An early map of De Funiak Springs and the Florida Chautauqua (Figure 2.2), presumably published in 1884, indicated plans for the lake to be central in the layout of the Assembly grounds. The map appears to be a plat that may have been used in selling home sites and indicates possible buildings including The Chautauqua Hotel (1 on the map)⁴, Amphitheater (9), The Palmer House (6), The Grand Hotel (5), Hall of Philosophy (11), and The School of Cookery (10). The printed program gives no indication that all of these buildings were actually in place for the first program.

The 1885 program does indicate that the Hotel Chautauqua and the Tabernacle were the only buildings erected for the first Chautauqua meeting in 1885. "Every effort will be made by the management to secure the comfort of visitors. The new and elegant 'HOTEL CHAUTAUQUA,' recently erected, provides visitors with first-class hotel accommodations. . . ." (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1885, 5). The tabernacle provided a location for class work as well as general lectures and entertainment.

⁴The numbers on the map were added by editors in recent years.



Figure 2.1 Early 1900's Post Card of De Funiak Springs

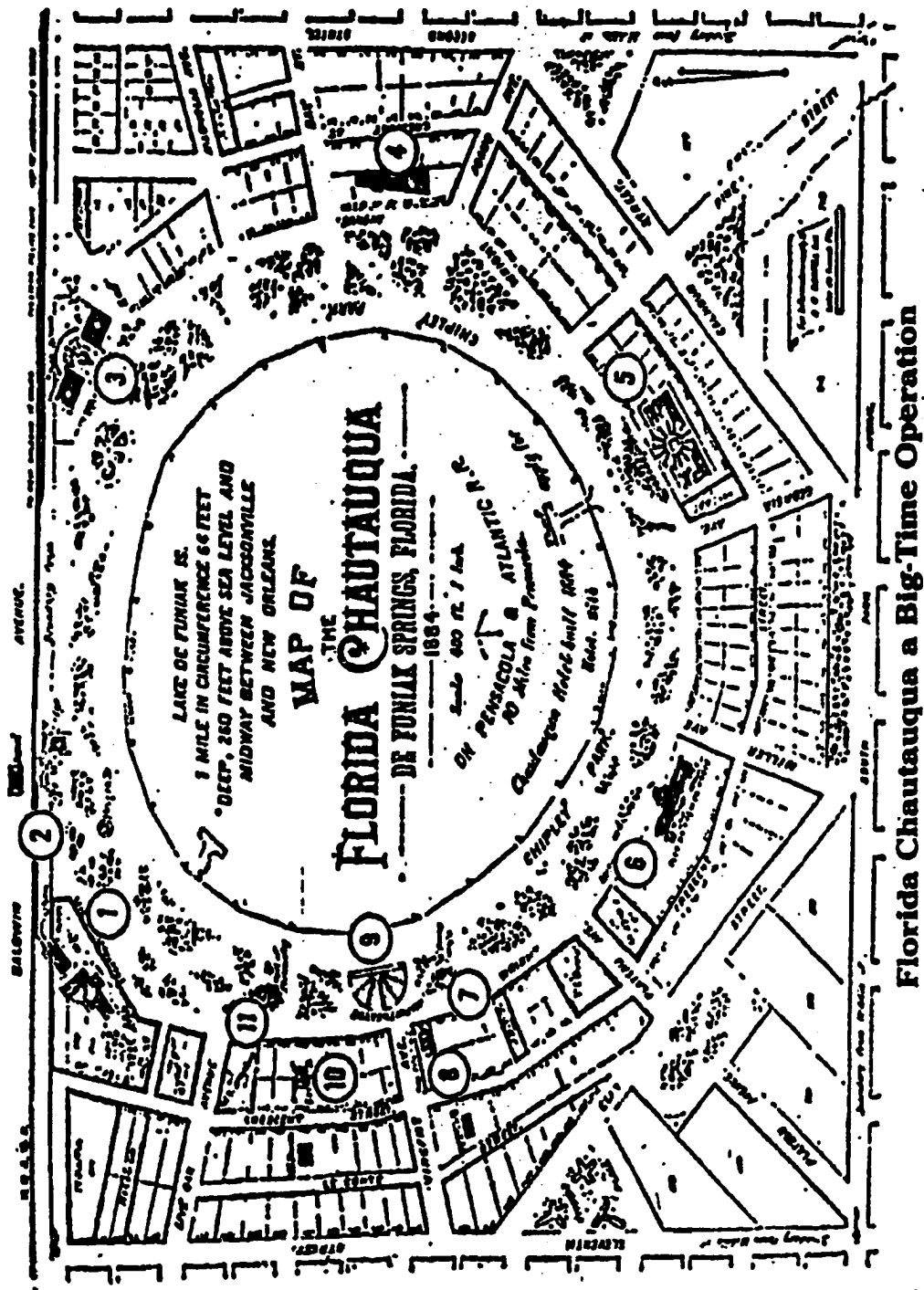


Figure 2.2 1884 Map of the Florida Chautauqua

The opening day of the first assembly included the dedication of the tabernacle (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1885, 13). The dedicatory notice in the program reads, "Dedication of the grounds and tabernacle," however, in the detail of the notice is the "Presentation of buildings and grounds," indicating the possibility of multiple buildings. No indication is made of any other buildings being used for the assembly except the amphitheater (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1885, 20). It is possible that the amphitheater and the tabernacle were the same building.

The first issue of the *Florida Chautauqua* newspaper in January, 1886, refers to two buildings which were used for the first assembly. The first was "The Tabernacle -- A fine building, 100 feet square, with recess of 12 x 50 feet on one side for platform, entirely inclosed [sic], floored, well warmed and lighted, comfortably seated to accommodate 2,500 people" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, January 1886, 8). The other building was simply called The Hall. This two-story building held the Kindergarten for the first assembly (*The Florida Chautauqua*, January 1886, 8).

John McKinnon, a local resident, recalled preparations for the first Chautauqua assembly in 1885. The town was in its infancy. "[N]o depot save a box car switch off, no hotel but a few scattering [sic] dwellings to offer any sort of accommodations" (McKinnon, 358). Despite the lack of facilities and a constant rain, Gillet concluded that the site was a good location and made plans for the first assembly meeting. Organizers immediately began construction on the

Chautauqua Hotel and Tabernacle in an attempt to complete the facilities for the spring meeting.

One of the leading farmers and business men of Walton said to Mr. Bonfill [sic] 'It is foolish to build such a mammoth hotel here it will never be filled up.' Mr. Banfill said, 'Why, sir, we expect to build as much more to it in less than five years.' And the second year they built on to it the north wing and three weeks before the next assembly convened every room with a fire place, was taken up (McKinnon, 359).

In the following years entrepreneurs constructed even more hotels to handle the increasing attendance.

The tabernacle was the subject of an article on the front page of the first issue of the *Florida Chautauqua* newspaper in January 1886. Besides providing seating for 2,500, its platform was large enough to hold several hundred singers. "It is here in the tabernacle where music gladdens the heart, where logic and oratory touch the mind and intellect, and where spiritual sermons elevate the soul and bring it nearer to its divine author" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, January 1886, 1). The management used three small rooms on the lake side of the building for offices referred to as the superintendent's headquarters. Above the tabernacle was the art hall.

Before the second assembly convened, the assembly management expanded the facilities. They erected a building called The College to complement the facilities provided by the Tabernacle. The two-story building, 32 x 50 feet, contained three rooms on the ground floor and a large hall on the second floor, called "The Chapel." In addition to The College, organizers constructed another building, The Kitchen, at 1450 Vincent Avenue to house the cooking school. The Ministers' Institute appropriated The Hall, the building that contained

the Kindergarten the first year. The assembly used the first floor as a lecture hall and the second floor for dormitories for the ministers (The *Florida Chautauqua*, January 1886, 8). Besides the Chautauqua Hotel, the program advertised another establishment, the Lakeview House, as an additional choice for housing.

There was little change in assembly buildings proper prior to the 1887 assembly. A review of assembly facilities in the January 1887 edition of The *Florida Chautauqua* newspaper indicates the presence of four primary buildings: The Tabernacle, The College, The Museum, and The Hall (The *Florida Chautauqua*, January 1887, 135). The Museum is the only new building listed. Previous editions of the paper contained notices of the museum and its collection, primarily semi-precious stones and metals, although the official description notes that “as rapidly as possible, rare and curious things are being gathered” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, January 1887, 135).

The lack of expansion of assembly buildings might indicate little growth in attendance, except that accommodations required apparently significant expansion. A review of the 1886 assembly indicates that the accommodations were “fully tested last year” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, January 1887, 135). A 100 x 40 foot addition was built for the Hotel Chautauqua, the primary hotel, giving it “a dining room 10 x 40 feet in size, a large comfortable office and gentlemen’s sitting room, and fifty-five elegantly furnished rooms, besides wide halls and a large and roomy attic. Fully two hundred guests can be accommodated” (Figures 2.3 and 2.4) (The *Florida Chautauqua*, December 1886, 124).

Businessmen either finished or had under construction three other new

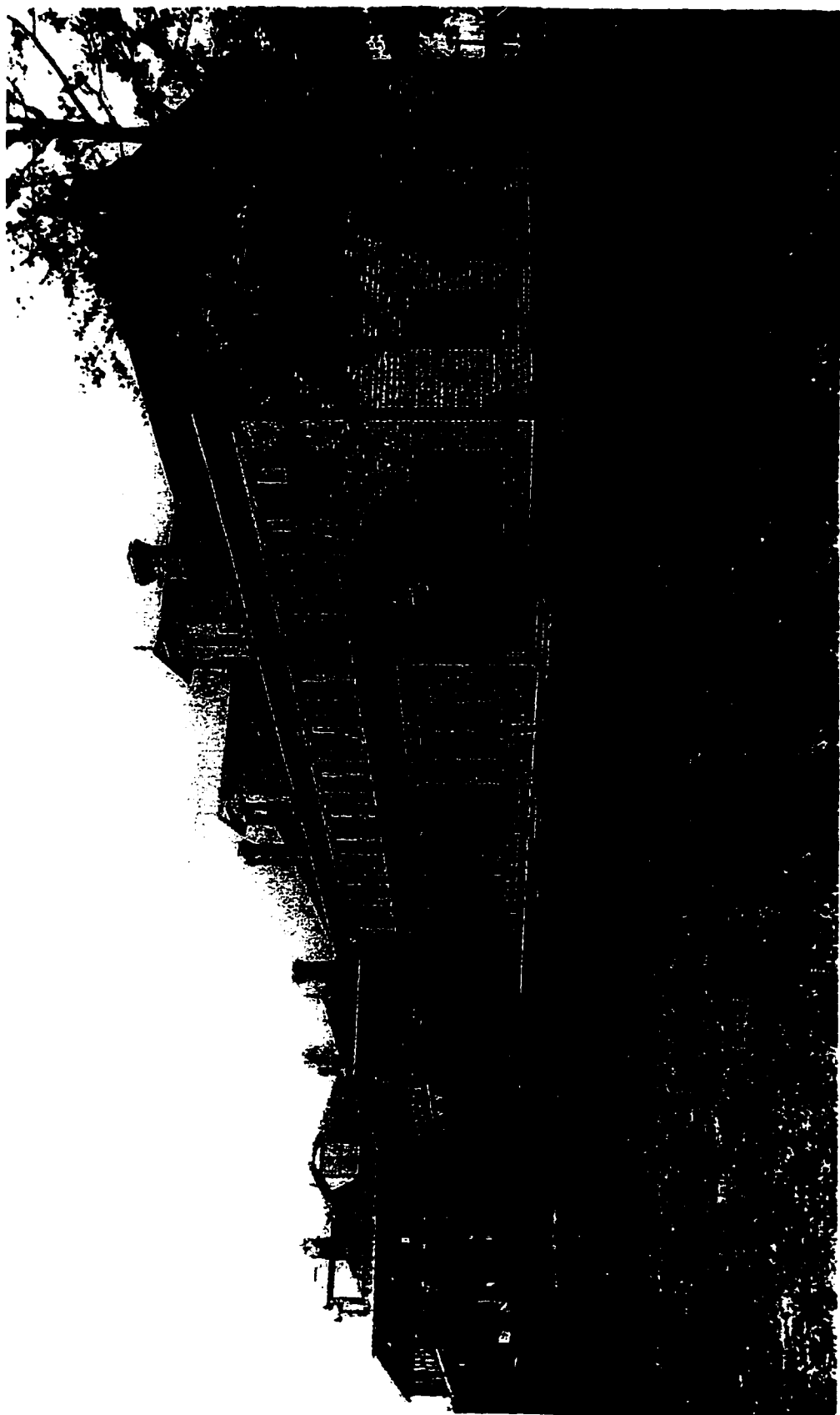


Figure 2.3 Hotel Chautauqua



Figure 2.4 Hotel Chautauqua from Lake De Funiak

hotels, all scheduled to open for the 1887 assembly. The Alleghany House already had about fifty guests; the Biddle House would have thirty-five rooms and a capacity of one hundred; The New York Hotel could hold approximately one hundred guests (*The Florida Chautauqua*, December 1886, 124). The apparent economic viability of new accommodations is a strong indicator of the numerical success of the assembly. This buildup coupled with the erection of new assembly buildings indicates there were significant economic rewards, or at least sufficient promise of rewards, to warrant expansion.

The Board of Directors, at a meeting in November, made arrangements for the erection of a new building for the Art Department and for a reading room, although there was no indication that the building was in use or under construction at the time of the 1887 assembly. There were apparently other buildings belonging to the assembly proper, such as the Secretary's and Superintendent's offices, post-office, and bookstore.

It is difficult at times to separate the development and construction of the physical Chautauqua text from the construction of the town of De Funiak Springs. At least in the early years of the Chautauqua, the town existed and prospered because of the Florida Chautauqua. The newspapers reported extensively on the expansion of the town both commercially and privately. Originally just a side stop on the rail line, the town experienced steady, if not rapid, growth at the outset. By 1887 both a Presbyterian and a Methodist church were in operation. Businesses related to the timber industry were present, including two planing mills and a furniture factory. A bank, stores, four

hotels, and a sanitarium completed the commercial district. "New buildings are going up as if by magic, and the sound of hammer and saw makes merry music all day long" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, December 1886, 124). A new courthouse was in progress at the time of the 1887 assembly. The population doubled in the first three years of the Florida Chautauqua (*The Florida Chautauqua*, January 1887, 134). The January 1887 edition announces at least seven new or expanded residences in the city and displays several woodcuts of sample cottages. The January edition also contains a notice that the Assembly grounds comprise two hundred and eight acres. (See Figure 2.1)

The Hotel Chautauqua changed management during the summer of 1887 and was reportedly undergoing further expansion in anticipation of the 1888 assembly (*Chautauqua Camp and Fireside*, October 1887, 122). Notices in the October edition of the paper indicate that Mr. P. L. Biddle, owner of the Biddle House, had also neared completion on another European-style hotel and restaurant.

The physical plant of the Florida Assembly appears to remain constant through the end of the century. Even with anticipated growth in the assembly, the programs do not indicate or announce new buildings. Repeatedly the programs talk about the appearance of additional homes and cottages, but not of new hotels or other assembly structures.

The buildings were almost always intended to be used as facilities for the presentation of events which contributed to the performance text of the assembly. Concerts, readings, and classes, the prominent features of both the performance text and cultural text, were

more accessible because of the physical facilities. Thus the physical text played an integral role in the overall textual construct.

With the advent of the session of 1899, the program made references to the “amphitheatre,” but gave no formal notice about a new facility. The reference was apparently not just a new name or another name for the Tabernacle, since the assembly scheduled a February 16 meeting for the Tabernacle and a February 19 meeting took place in the amphitheatre. The programs have no pictures of the amphitheatre, although the 1900 program includes a picture of the lake and dock as seen from the amphitheatre.

Minor facilities appeared in pictures from time to time in the different programs. The 1898 program includes a picture of the Alpine Pavilion, an open-air structure of unclear usage. The pavilion appears to be located in a shaded area where attendees could seek relief from the sun and enjoy the breeze. The 1900 program includes a picture of the Vesper Temple. The caption describes it as “a rustic Parthenon in Alpine Park” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1900, 2). The classical Greek structure’s usage is also unclear. No references to either structure appear in the printed matter. Various notices indicate that actual Vesper programs were probably conducted in the Vesper Temple periodically.

With the shifting emphasis of the program content away from education and religion and toward entertainment after the turn of the century came two new additions in the 1902 program. The Hotel Chautauqua laid out a tennis court and a croquet ground. While not structures in the sense of the other buildings, they do represent the

response of the physical text to changes in the textual nature of the De Funiak Springs assembly.

The 1906 program mentions officially for the first time the existence of Alpine Park. The park, adjacent to the Chautauqua assembly area and lake, was described as “a delightful resting place where the lover of nature can walk among stately pines, bask in the sunshine and hear the sweet music of songbirds mingle with the cadence of falling waters. Here is Alpine Spring, the crystal water of which is caught in a ‘Jacob’s Well’ of sparking granite” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1906, 3). This physical description of the park aided the reader/attendee in the development of a textual representation of the Florida Chautauqua as a desirable resort replete with peaceful and serene surroundings.

By the twenty-second assembly in 1906, apparently some of the buildings were in need of improvements, either repairs or expansion. In an apparent attempt to avoid dipping into Chautauqua funds (or because they simply were not available), the community assisted. “The generosity of the business men and prominent citizens has enabled the Chautauqua to enter upon many needed improvements on its buildings, thereby preserving its property and adding beauty to our town” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1906, 14). The businessmen did not act purely out of a noble motive. The Chautauqua was now in its zenith and the economic benefits would have been substantial. A decline in the physical property would have likely translated into a decline in attendance and thus economic reward both for the Chautauqua assembly and the town.

The 1908 program announced the Florida Chautauqua's most ambitious building project since the early years of the institution. The assembly directors planned to construct a new auditorium in time for the silver anniversary in 1909. The program hailed the auditorium as signaling a "wider outlook of future development" for the Florida institution (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1908, 1). The 1908 session closed on March 28 and construction began on the new building March 30. The auditorium was a "magnificent building, with a seating capacity of four thousand and an imposing front worthy of the great Chautauqua idea—the highest principles of brotherhood" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1908, 1).

The 1908 program also noted a new addition to the area of De Funiak Springs which the program ties in closely to the Florida Chautauqua. Palmer College and Academy (Figure 2.5) began operations in the vicinity of the Chautauqua grounds. The state Normal College operated in De Funiak Springs between 1887 and 1905. In 1905 the legislature passed a bill which absorbed the normal college into the higher education system, so the college moved to Tallahassee, where it became the State Normal College for Women and eventually the co-ed Florida State University (Stuart, *The Euchee Valley Scots*, 70). The Presbyterians took over the grounds vacated by the Normal college for their educational institution named in honor of Rev. B. M. Palmer, D.D., LL.D., of New Orleans, the first moderator of the Presbyterian church in the United States (Gillis, *The Development of Education in Walton County, Florida*, 70).



Figure 2.5 Palmer College

Although Palmer College was promoted as a college, it actually only offered academy classes. Preparations were underway to offer college courses in future years. Parents from the North could bring their children to the February Chautauqua, place them in an educational institution, and be assured that when they returned home the children would not be lagging in their studies.

Through the years the college continued to expand. Before the opening of the 1915 session of the Florida Chautauqua, Palmer College completed a new dormitory for boys at a cost of twenty thousand dollars (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1915, 13). The dormitory contained rooms for fifty-six boys, a suite for a teacher and his family, society halls, and a large gymnasium. The building was praised for its steam heat and modern conveniences. The girl's dormitory was renovated as well. The administration intended for the college to grow, revealing that "the college is now busily engaged in perfecting plans to enlarge its facilities for doing its ever increasing work and to enable it to meet the demands of an awakened and rapidly-growing section" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1915, 13).

By the time the 1909 session began, the new auditorium was completed, with seating for four thousand, and the attached Hall of Brotherhood with increased classroom space provided necessary space for expansion. The dedication of the facilities was a highlight of the program that year. The Hall of Brotherhood "with imposing columns and dome, containing rooms for classes in elocution, literature, Bible study and music" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1909, 1) became a focal point and is today the only major building remaining from the assembly

(Figure 2.6 and 2.7). A small library built during the early years of the Chautauqua is also in existence.

When McKinnon was writing his county history, the hall was under construction. Its original cost, projected at \$18,000, grew to \$28,000 (McKinnon, 361). According to DeBolt, for a subscription fee of \$100 an individual could “purchase” one of the one hundred and fifty columns in the building and name it for a literary figure (1990, 10).

The Hall of Brotherhood contained “Yale Hall,” “Washington Hall,” and the “Hall of Scottish History and Literature,” and besides its use for daily classwork, the building was made available to groups who needed a meeting location but did not need a location the size of the large auditorium (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1910, 12). The auditorium and Hall of Brotherhood continued the tradition of the physical plant supporting the dissemination of the cultural text. By providing rooms for study in elocution, music, and literature, it concomitantly endorsed these subjects as meaningful and vital to cultural competency. The auditorium provided space for the performance text, giving a location for concerts and other entertainment. Either by coincidence or plan, the New York Chautauqua completed a similar structure, the Hall of Philosophy in 1906 (Irwin, 85).

Although the town of De Funiak Springs was technically separate from the Florida Chautauqua, its development is linked closely to that of the assembly. As has already been noted, the residents of the town were viewed as vital members of the cultural community of the Chautauqua. In a similar manner, the town contributed to the overall textual construct. The town and its



Figure 2.6 Hall of Brotherhood

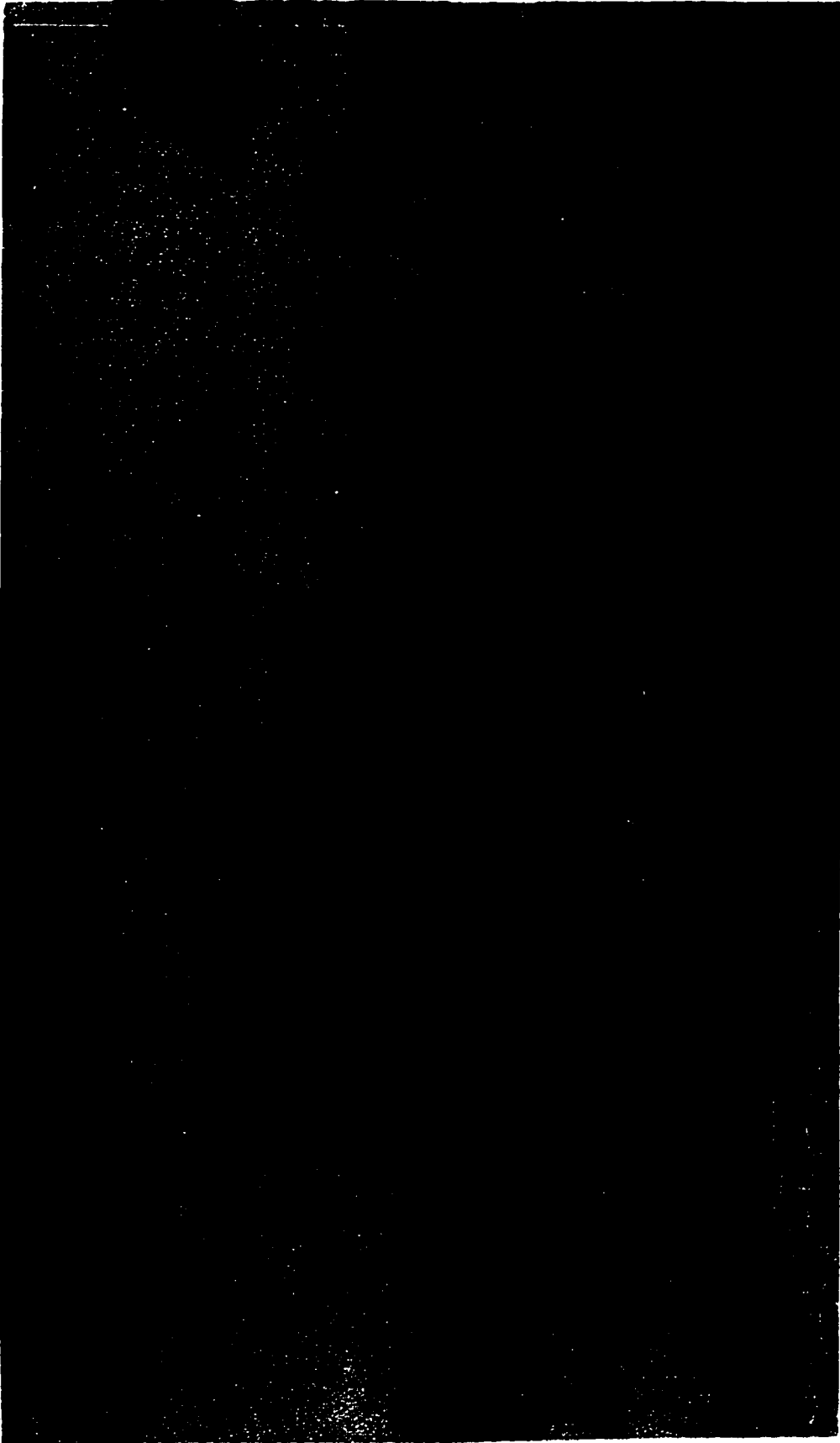


Figure 2.7 Rear View of Hall of Brotherhood

surrounding environment and opportunities were often used as selling points in the programs. To combat the notion of the “wilderness” of Western Florida, the promoters needed to create a civilized and modern environment for the Florida Chautauqua. The 1912 program takes one full page to promote and describe the city, detailing the town’s religious and social institutions, as well its infrastructure. For the first time the title “City of Churches” was bestowed upon the area because of the Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Episcopal, Christian and Universalist churches now located in the city. Lodges also existed for the Masons, Odd-Fellows, Knights of Pythias, and Woodmen of the World. The infrastructure was sound as well, the program boasting that “the town is equipped with a splendid electric light plant, complete system of water works and sewerage, and all the modern and up-to-date improvements of the Northern cities. . .” (1912, 40). The growth of recognized organizations along with the strengthening infrastructure also pointed to good investment potential for those who had money.

The comparison with Northern cities was important since many of the constituents for the Florida Chautauqua were permanent residents of those states. If the promoters could convince the Northern reader to create a favorable text of the Southern experience in De Funiak Springs, then he/she was more likely to attend the assembly.

The 1913 program gave a more detailed description of the large auditorium. Although it was well known that the auditorium could seat four thousand, for the first time the building is described as modern in its accouterments. “[I]t is steam heated and fully equipped with electric lights with desolving [sic] color effects and footlights for the presentation

of plays and grand concerts. The stage alone has a capacity for over one hundred actors" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1913, 2). The physical text was thus more able to support the cultural and performance texts with their emphasis on entertainment. The increased seating capacity translated into a potential increase in gate receipts and hence in profit. As the cultural situation changed in the Northwest Florida, entertainment was more commercially viable than other presentations. The improved staging capabilities enhanced this drawing card even more.

The physical text of the Florida Chautauqua was a vital chapter in the overall development of the performance and cultural texts. By providing specific locales and structures for different activities, the promoters acknowledged the importance of the events to take place there. For example, the inclusion of a large stage with "desolving [sic] color effects and footlights" inherently bestowed cultural importance on the productions and concerts to be staged there.

It is interesting to note that while the auditorium was multipurpose in function, it was used more for entertainment events than for religious or educational activities. The promoters made a *de facto* argument for the cultural importance of those genres of entertainment over religious ones by building an auditorium as opposed to a tabernacle or church.

The inclusion of the Hall of Brotherhood with its classrooms still acknowledged the role of the educational experience in the performance and cultural texts, but the emphasis is evidently on the entertainment facets.

The development of the physical plant over the history of the Florida Chautauqua provides important insights into the overall structure of the assembly. These venues aided in the both the presentation and acquisition of cultural competence.

Underlying all of the physical plant development, however, are commercial concerns. The physical plant was expanded as it became economically viable and in response to commercial needs (although these needs are closely intertwined with cultural developments). After the initial building for the establishment of the assembly, the first new structures were commercial ventures—hotels. There was strong enough interest in what the Florida Chautauqua had to offer to encourage speculative building by businessmen eager to benefit economically from the assembly's initial ability to market cultural competence.

The additional structures and facilities added during the Florida Chautauqua's history had practical and/or aesthetic uses but were also important to the economic success of the assembly. On a very basic level, they increased capacity for individual events like concerts and lectures thus increasing the potential for additional income. (The new auditorium nearly doubled seating capacity at the marquee events). The structures solidified the textual presentation of a cultured locale thus engendering confidence in consumers willing to exchange money for cultural experience. Finally, they provided additional locations for the expression of religious, educational, and entertainment ventures allowing more individuals to be involved in more activities in limited

time allotments. This allowed an increase in total capacity for the assembly.

In the development of the Florida Chautauqua's venture to market culture, the physical text played an important role in both responding to and providing for economic growth. While the structures were used for practical purposes (providing locales for concerts, lectures, classes, recreation, etc.), they grew out of the related desire for economic benefit. The management added buildings to enhance the commercial venture.

CHAPTER 3

A Winter Assembly in the Land of Summer: the Formative Years of the Florida Chautauqua as Text, 1885-1897

During the initial years, the Florida Chautauqua was an institution in development and thus one in search of themes. The cover of the first program, in a fairly obvious attempt to interest the Northern reader, proclaims that this is “a winter assembly in the land of summer.” The initial reading of the Florida Chautauqua as text finds an institution heavily reliant upon the themes of education and religion. The cultural goods deemed most desirable for acquisition would be found in these two areas. The earliest assemblies limited pure entertainment, while placing greater emphasis on acquiring necessary and basic competencies in literature, Bible-related themes, elocution, and teacher-training.

The greatest obstacle facing the promoters of the Florida Chautauqua was marketing a new product. The Chautauqua movement was apparently not well known throughout the northwest Florida region. In addition, the cultural and economic situation of the area did not lend itself to an immediately successful venture. Opera and other theatrical forms were just making themselves known on a broad scale to the area. The Florida Chautauqua had the potential to

both create and meet the desire for cultural competency. The promoters relied heavily on the printed programs to sell the Chautauqua.

**1885
February 10 - March 9
First Session**

The first printed program is a combination of factual information, general advertisement, and hyperbole. Although the Chautauqua movement was into its second decade in New York, the concept was apparently still new to many Southerners, who would have to be convinced of the merits of attending an assembly that was a cross between a camp meeting and school. A local resident observed that when the notice of the first annual session of the Florida Chautauqua was painted on a pine plank and nailed to a tree in De Funiak Springs, "the name and what it meant was much discussed and gave it much publicity far and near, few had ever heard of the name, much less of what it now stood for" (McKinnon, 358-59).

To define and market itself, the Florida Chautauqua relied on the reputation of the New York Chautauqua to give it credibility and to establish desirability with potential attendees. The front matter of the first program starts with a section entitled "Chautauqua Defined," noting that the institution begun in New York was "a powerful factor in the social, intellectual, and religious education of the people of this country" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1885, 3). The program enthusiastically reviews the New York Chautauqua. "There is an elaborate program of exercises, combining instruction with the persuasive influences of recreation. Lectures by the wisest and best. Music, instrumental and

vocal, by select artists, great choirs, trained string and cornet bands.

Spectacular and elocutionary entertainment” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1885, 3). Summarizing the Chautauqua experience, the writers concluded:

This, then, is Chautauqua; Rest, without the weariness of travel and the relentless demands of extravagant society; recreation, without the dissipation of the fashionable resorts; instruction, without the dull routine of the school-room; inspiration and uplift to the individual and home wherever it reaches (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1885, 3).

With the advertisement of the Chautauqua as such a potentially positive experience, the Florida Chautauqua sought to link itself with the entire Chautauqua movement and especially with the New York Chautauqua and the solid foundation which that assembly had already laid.

To establish an institution on this plan, and with like beneficent influences, is the desire and ambition of the directors of the Florida Chautauqua; not to be in any sense a rival to the great Chautauqua, but an assistant; to do for the people who throng the winter resorts of the land of flowers, what the parent institution does for the people who seek relief from summer heats and press of care, amid the groves about Chautauqua Lake (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1885, 3).

The Florida Chautauqua wanted also to be a “social, intellectual, and religious” influence like the original Chautauqua.

Because the Florida Chautauqua was in its first year, its promoters found it necessary to establish the desirability of an assembly in Florida. The opening paragraphs referred to above helped to market the concept and establish the credibility of the institution by linking it to the “mother Chautauqua,” but it was still necessary to attract individuals to a new assembly in a relatively remote and

underdeveloped location in Florida. The rest of the front matter in the program addresses this task.

After defining the Chautauqua, sections describe the location, routes to reach the assembly, accommodations, special meetings, the Forestry and Agricultural Congress, Teachers' Days, C.L.S.C. Work, information on Sunday observances, tickets and admission fees, and expenses. Each section presents the material enthusiastically, depicting a product of near perfection in every aspect.

The altitude of the location, its freedom from malaria, the purity of its water, and the rolling character of the ground, together with the abundant shade furnished by the pine, live-oak, magnolia, and other Florida forest trees, make it a most desirable place for a winter encampment (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1885, 3-4).

Further description of the location continues in the same manner, describing the assembly grounds and the surrounding attractions, concluding that "together with many other remarkable and romantic places, [the locations] unite to make this a most interesting spot for tourists and travelers" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1885, 4).

The discussion of routes shows that role of the program in the commercial aspects of the Florida Chautauqua. Since the founding and development of the assembly were so closely related to the railroad, each program included detailed accounts of access to De Funiak Springs by way of railroad, noting that "Lake de Funiak is accessible from almost every direction" (The *Florida Chautauqua* , 1885, 4). The program then goes on to list the routes to be taken from almost any location or geographic region in the United States. This section helped create the impression that the Florida Chautauqua was

less remote and more civilized than some people may have perceived. The accessibility lessened the resistance of paying customers.

Details in the writing described accommodations as first class. “The new and elegant ‘HOTEL CHAUTAUQUA,’ recently erected, provides visitors with first-class hotel accommodations, including a table that for elegance of service and perfectness of *cuisine* cannot be surpassed in Florida” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1885, 5). In addition, several boarding houses were scheduled to be ready for the assembly. Planners encouraged those who desired other accommodations to camp out or build temporary cottages. The description of housing removed another obstacle that attendees might raise.

An important aspect of the creation of the Chautauquan text was the emphasis on the religious nature of the assembly, evident throughout the program in the number of religiously oriented presentations and lectures, but an opening paragraph regarding Sunday observances also makes it very clear:

The tendency in many parts of our country is toward the entire destruction of the sacredness hitherto belonging to the Sabbath day. The Assembly management, believing that they should be on the conservative side of all questions affecting morals, and that the Sabbath of the New Testament is a necessity to the well-being, if not to the perpetuity, of our American institutions, have decided unanimously to sell no tickets for admission on that day, and to make all the public services of the day harmonize with Christian ideas concerning the observances of the day (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1885, 6).

The management of the assembly wanted to make it very clear to an important part of their constituency what their stance was on the current status of Sunday activities. This declaration also sets the tenor for which cultural goods would be emphasized. The strong religious

influence meant the foregoing of activities like acting and dancing, which might be perceived as secular. The opening paragraph also makes it clear what type of audience the management had targeted.

To further create a sense of the value and desirability of attendance, the promoters of the Chautauqua emphasized that “the rates of admission are placed at a very low figure, when the character of the lectures and entertainments are taken into the account” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1885, 6). A ticket to all events for the entire assembly was \$3.00, while \$1.00 purchased a five-day ticket. Admission to a single event was \$.25. Admission varied for special classes. In comparison, a pound of marshmallows was 18¢ and a pair of ladies’ shoes cost \$2.95 (*New York Times*, 3 February 1885). In the largely rural areas of Northwest Florida, people would consider carefully the monetary investment required to participate. Promoters had to successfully convince people to pay the gate fees for the Florida Chautauqua to be commercially viable.

After listing the assembly events, two pages of Assembly Notes continue the promotion of the advantages and merits of the Florida Chautauqua. The notes are a combination of acknowledgments and advertisement. For example, the first entry contains both attributes: “The great bells are an expression of the interest of Clinton H. Meneely, Esq. of Troy, N.Y., in the work of the Florida Chautauqua. Committees looking for church or school bells would do well to correspond with Mr. Meneely” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1885, 20). While ostensibly thanking Mr. Meneely, the note also provides potential wide-coverage advertising to a select audience through the distribution of the printed

program. The notes listed additional products, with most of these products being used during the Assembly. The use of advertising like this is another example of the commercial nature of the assembly. The notes also serve to bolster the reputations of individuals teaching or performing during the assembly, as well as further convince the potential Chautauquan of the quality of the Florida program. "The Florida Chautauqua Program represents a great deal of ability. Seldom is such a list of brilliant lectures, fine concerts, and rare entertainments presented in the program of a single gathering" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1885, 21).

All of this material combines to write a cultural text designed to sell the individual on the necessity and desirability of attending the Florida Chautauqua. Education and cultural competence are primary factors. The text presents the individual with such benefits as education, rest, entertainment, spiritual enlightenment, and personal enrichment. The initial chapter of the Florida Chautauqua as it is written in the first printed program presented an institution near perfection. If the institution were ever to be successful and establish itself in the realm of education and entertainment, as well as be a successful commercial venture, it had to be presented in this light.

An examination of the actual content of the Florida Chautauqua's first year presents another aspect of the Chautauqua's textuality by revealing the performance text. Since the promoters printed the programs and sent them out in advance, it is not possible to determine if the content remained the same after the initial printing. It is probable

that some of the content changed as performers and instructors were unable to attend or changed topics.

Each of the ten categories had representative events in the first assembly. Important religious program events included the School of Theology, primarily for ministers, which met two or three times daily, including a session for teaching Hebrew. The assembly scheduled a daily Devotional Conference as well for the benefit of all who attended. Sundays were devoted to Sunday school, two or three sermons, Vesper services, and song services. The Sunday school Normal department was two-pronged in its approach, providing instruction both in Bible content and in the methodology of teaching. Each day the Sunday school Normal department was in session (February 12 through February 25), the morning lecture dealt with a Biblical topic such as "The World of the Bible," "Bible Lands--Geography," "Bible History," "The Bible as a Literary Work," and "The Bible from God, Inspiration." In the evening the session dealt with how to teach Sunday school, covering topics like "The Ideal Teacher," "The Ideal Superintendent," "General Principles of Teaching," "Principles of Attention," "Principles of Illustration," and "Managing a Class." In addition to these activities, the program included several general lectures on religious topics.

The first year the assembly prominently featured musical entertainment, with music under the direction of Professor W. F. Sherwin. The chorus, soloists, band, and other groups combined regularly for concerts. A scheduled daily musicale often featured groups such as the Underhill-Meigs Combination (a small singing

group) and the Ohio Male Quartet. Soloists included Mrs. Julia C. Hull of New York, Miss Carrie Louise Jounard and Miss Anna Weil of Nashville. During the first year a very limited amount of entertainment was solely speech in nature. Professor E. K. Cumnock from Evanston, Illinois, provided two sessions of readings, one focusing on the Tales of the Scottish Cavaliers for Scots Day. Five events featured a combination of musical and elocutionary entertainment. Cumnock and Professor Virgil A. Pinkley provided the elocutionary entertainment in connection with the Underhill-Meigs Combination or the soloists.

A very popular feature of the first assembly was the travelogue. Without the benefit of radio or television and with travel difficult and limited, "exotic" locations interested many of the Chautauqua visitors. The Chautauqua capitalized on this limited exposure by scheduling travelogue speakers. The travelogue speaker usually illustrated the speech with native costume or stereopticon views. (The stereopticon was a type of slide projector that allowed one slide to fade out while another was faded in.) Mr. Sau Ah Brah presented a series on India "illustrated by a large collection of costumes and curiosities from India" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1885, 14). His lectures were entitled "Life In Burma," "India Illustrated," and "Religious and Social Customs of India." Other travelogues focused on Palestine and Jerusalem, English Cathedrals, Rome, Italy and Vesuvius, Paris, Colorado, and "Petersburg to the Pyramids, via Constantinople." The travelogues provided a very basic foundation knowledge of other cultures, thus exposing the attendees to a broader cultural market place than they had previously known. While the travelogues did not necessarily

expose the viewer to specific cultural goods, they would have helped in the creation of a disposition to recognize the value of cultural goods, especially if any link could be made to sites covered by the travelogue.

The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle (C.L.S.C.) met daily. The C.L.S.C. provided individuals with the opportunity to study a set course of instruction over a four-year period. Those interested in continuing their studies established local groups to continue the work year round. During the assembly they met to discuss various topics, primarily literary in nature. In addition to their discussions, they had frequent tabernacle lectures on literary topics. Rev. F. A. Archibald spoke on "The Perils of Literature," Rev. Frank Bristol on "The Bard of Avon," Dr. B. M. Adams on "The Land of Burns," and Wallace Bruce on "Robert Burns."

Class work was an important part of each day at the assembly. The first assembly offered a variety of course work. The Art school had five instructors, allowing individuals to learn such media as figure painting, crayon, lustra, tapestry, china painting, art needle work, wood carving, and clay modeling. The School of Cookery offered fourteen sessions, covering everything from bread making to cakes and candies. Professor Virgil A. Pinkley, director of the Elocutionary Department of the College of Music of Cincinnati and Professor of Elocution at Lane Theological Seminary, taught the Elocution class. A graduate of the National School of Elocution and Oratory, Pinkley provided a series of twelve lessons for \$4.00.

As mentioned earlier, the Sunday school Normal department both taught Bible subjects and gave instruction in teaching. Separate

from the Sunday school Normal was The Primary Teachers' Class, taught by Mrs. G. R. Alden, more affectionately known as Pansy. "[O]rganized for the benefit of the Sunday-school teachers employed in the primary and intermediate departments of Sunday schools" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1885, 10), the class met daily, covering a list of twenty-three topics. The Kindergarten was for children of parents attending the assembly and included Kindergarten normal sessions as well.

Professor W. F. Sherwin, chorus director and lecturer of the New England Conservatory of Music, directed the Musical Department. The chorus class met daily at 9:00 a.m. and 4:00 p.m. "The daily drills will include practice in sacred and secular music, interspersed with hints and instructions touching all musical needs" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1885, 10).

During the first assembly several special groups held sessions. The District Sunday school Convention met for two days and held seven sessions. The Forestry and Agricultural Congress convened between February 17 and 20. The Temperance Union also had special meetings during the session.

The performance text as contained in the program events reveals a wide range of activities and interests, structured to provide "everything that an active, fertile brain could devise to entertain and instruct the crowds" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1885, 3). Religious and instructional events dominated the first assembly program, while entertainment was minimal. The entertainment included in the program was primarily musical with elocutionary entertainment held to a

minimum. A different type of entertainment, the travelogue, was an important part of the initial assembly. The structure of future assemblies would vary slowly, but distinctively, from the inaugural event.

The initial contribution of the Florida Chautauqua to the Northwest Florida cultural marketplace was limited. The primary interest was religion and education, which was appropriate, as the Western Panhandle of Florida was still in early development. Pensacola, the closest major population center, had limited educational opportunities. Commercially, the Florida Chautauqua took advantage of the cultural situation by providing unique and/or limited cultural goods.

The exposure to the musical and speech entertainment, however, was an important step. While exact program content is not available, it is probable that the program consisted of a mix of popular music and classical selections. Those in attendance were in the initial stages of prolonged or repeated contact with cultural goods, which Bourdieu points to as necessary for developing "connoisseurship."

1886
February 23 - March 29
Second Session

No extant printed program in the format of the 1885 session is available for the 1886 session. Information on this assembly, as well as the assemblies of 1887 and 1888, is gleaned from a series of newspaper publications entitled the *Florida Chautauqua* and later the *Chautauqua Camp and Fireside*. These texts continue the process of writing the text of the Florida Chautauqua and continue the focus on the educational and religious facets and their commercial outworkings.

The management published the paper in Cincinnati, Ohio, home of Dr. A. H. Gillet, the superintendent of instruction for the Florida Chautauqua, and initially it published a variety of information about the Florida Chautauqua, including the yearly program. The newspapers also included the texts of speeches delivered at the assembly or at associated gatherings such as the Forestry Congress. News items promoted the various activities and aspects of the Florida Chautauqua, and advertisements noted a variety of goods including literary texts, train tickets, and land in Holmes County, Florida. The paper viewed itself as not just a news source but as “a factor for good in the line of popular education” and as a vehicle to allow the Florida Chautauqua to “[k]eep its work constantly before the people and give it that broad basis which its plans require” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, January 1886, 8).

Like the program booklets, the newspapers also contributed to the creation of the Florida Chautauqua as text by representing the assembly through writing. The commerciality of the paper and of the Florida Chautauqua is evident throughout, both in direct advertisements such as those found on its final pages for Louisville and Nashville Railroad and the *New York Tribune*, and in “news” items found interspersed through the paper. The paper sought to sell the individual on the benefits of the Florida Chautauqua. This item focused on the entertainment value of the assembly:

The Florida Chautauqua provides for recreation--the recreation of constant change and variety, lectures and processions, concerts and camp-fires, class work and merry song and hearty shout; the freedom of the forest and the intense eagerness and earnestness of the school; the recreation which results from breaking into the routine of life, and giving the kaleidoscope (which in too many cases shows only a single combination)

many a brisk turn, and thus revealing many new possibilities to the narrowest life (*The Florida Chautauqua*, January 1886, 8).

If the people could be convinced of the benefits and appropriateness of the recreational activities, they could more likely be convinced (“sold”) to attend the session. These paragraphs combine to write a text which demonstrates the relationship Bourdieu refers to between art competence and education.

Another item, in an apparent attempt to answer criticisms regarding educational efficacy, attempted to demonstrate the viability of educational improvement in a limited time frame.

We do not believe in educational quackery, nor in those pretenders who announce themselves able to give complete mastery of a language in a few days or weeks. Mastery results only from long and unremitting toil and persistent determination. It is possible, however, to accomplish a great deal of work in five weeks' time. Students who come to the work with a real desire for intellectual acquisition, and apply themselves to one or two lines of work under the direction of such teachers as the Florida Chautauqua provides, will be able to lay the foundation for a large attainments, even in the brief space of five weeks (*The Florida Chautauqua*, January 1886, 8).

Responsibility for making the educational opportunity a valuable one rested on the individuals who must have a “real desire” and “apply themselves.” If this occurred, they could be assured of educational success.

While on the surface the articles attempted to appear to be “newsy,” their primary purpose was commercial, for they created a text with desirable goods, and also created a desire in the consumer and a means for the consumer to appropriate those goods. This commerciality is evident in other notices, including one about the inclusion of the program in this issue. “It is not so much as guest,

however, as it is a messenger, inviting them all to the feast of good things prepared for the coming session" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, January 1886, 8).

The newspaper also strongly emphasized the religious aspect of the Florida Chautauqua as text. This textual element was important in attracting consumers. Several articles made references to the nature of religion and its role in the Florida Chautauqua. An article on worship stated that

the Sabbath will therefore be a day of rest, and appropriate religious services will occupy its hours, while during the week, in addition to prayer and song in connection with the public lectures and platform meetings, there will be a morning devotional meeting, evening vespers, responsive services, and other religious gatherings (The *Florida Chautauqua*, January 1886, 8).

The paper repeated a paragraph from the original program about the Sunday observances, making it clear that there would be only religious services on Sundays, and no tickets for other events (commerciality) would be sold. A front page article about the tabernacle declares, "We believe that God has called it [the Florida Chautauqua] into existence, and will bless it for the good of His children" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, January 1886, 1).

In a related issue, a speech by Bishop W. F. Mallalieu, also reproduced on the front page of the paper, included the notice that

this Florida Chautauqua will have the usual literary, intellectual, and spiritual attractions, and, what is worth repeating a hundred times, the sale of liquor of all kinds is absolutely proscribed in a section five miles square, and not a single saloon exists in this county of Walton with its fifty towns (The *Florida Chautauqua*, January 1886, 1).

The strong emphasis on the religious nature and operation of the Florida Chautauqua by extension affects the reader's understanding of culture and the cultural activities offered by the assembly. By association, the reader could assume that these cultural activities were "godly" and worthwhile.

The speech by Bishop Mallalieu further adds to an understanding of the Florida Chautauqua text. Entitled "Another Chautauqua," the speech addressed concerns individuals may have had about attending the new institution. The speech's goal was to associate the new assembly with the original New York Chautauqua and to allay any fears or doubts about its validity.

Can it be possible that the peerless should be reproduced? The original Chautauqua is the fruit of genius working on providential lines. It is the ripe harvest of a hundred days, nay of a hundred years of thought and toil and struggle. It is a haven of repose for the weary. It is a scene of heavenly activities for the strong and vigorous. . . . It has kindled pure, holy, manly, womanly aspirations in scores of thousands to whom without it life should continue to be as it had been, a ceaseless round of duties and drudgeries. But why not another Chautauqua?" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, January 1886, 1).

Mallalieu continued his establishment of the validity of the Florida Chautauqua by noting the population of the United States and the impossibility of the New York assembly serving everyone adequately.

He recounted the history of the Florida assembly and presented its physical surroundings in glowing terms. He concluded:

This combination of attractions will induce multitudes from the inclement North to make this their Winter home. Here in quiet, and surrounded with genial companionships, and with small expense they may expect comfort and health. And why may this not prove another center from which shall spread abroad, both North and South, an influence that shall bind the different sections together in the bonds of mutual brotherhood and

affection, and at the same time unite them in the great and Christ-like work of lifting up the lowly, and bringing all blessing within the reach of the humblest and poorest. All hail to the Florida Chautauqua! May the years justify its existence and increase its usefulness (The *Florida Chautauqua*, January 1886, 1).

While religious activities are not generally categorized as cultural goods, like a concert, painting, or theatrical performance, in the early assemblies they played the same role. Evidently attendees were already competent in religious matters and already possessed a greater disposition towards religious goods thus requiring less exposure in order for appropriation to be possible. The need for less exposure was an advantage for the early assembly, encouraging those who were already literate in religious matters and giving initial exposure to other cultural goods.

An analysis of the performance text for 1886 reveals few changes and distinctions from the first assembly. The religious events were still prominent, with the addition of the Institute of Christian Philosophy. The musical entertainment was again limited, although the performers were different. This was the first year for the Rogers Goshen Band, a group that attained longevity with the assembly. The travelogue was still a popular aspect of the program, as were meetings of the C.L.S.C. Instructional classes included the School of Cookery for a second year and the continuation of the elocution department, Sunday-school normal department, Primary Teachers' Class, the Kindergarten, and the Musical Department. The only change was the addition of the Secular Teachers' Normal class that was probably

developed in conjunction with the location of the Florida State Teachers' Normal College in De Funiak Springs.

In 1886 there was a significant increase in tabernacle lectures and educational activities not associated with specific course work. A variety of platform lecturers presented numerous topics, including "The Dude; or, Philosophy of Small Men," "The Conquest of the Sea," "The Decline of Oratory," "Love, Courtship, and Marriage," "The Higher Criticism," "The Delusions of Old People," and "Responsibility of Parents for the Right Training of Their Children."

The only special group to meet during the second assembly was the Secular Teachers' Congress. It met for a total of eleven sessions during the week-long meeting. The scheduling of such groups aided the promoters of the Florida Chautauqua in attracting additional paying customers to other Chautauqua events.

1887
February 17 - March 31
Third Session

The *Florida Chautauqua* newspaper was published again in April 1886 and contained reports of the 1886 assembly, but no extant copy is currently available. Beginning in May 1886, the newspaper became a monthly paper, presumably because there was more material than room for publication. The May 1886 edition cited this fact several times as a reason for the lack of publication of promised materials. The paper continued the same format as the original edition, becoming more chatty and including news items related to events other than the Florida assembly. A lengthy article on the life and times of Longfellow filled several pages. The anniversary hymn for the Island

Park Assembly in Indiana included music, and a detailed description of the assembly appeared. The paper also included the text of an address to the Forestry Congress. The broadening scope of the paper may have reflected a widening audience and was a harbinger of future changes in the paper.

The paper is again a combination of advertisement (often in the form of news stories) and short news items that frequently provide insight into the working and construction of the Chautauqua movement in general and the Florida Chautauqua in particular. The paper gave notice of the start of a new assembly in Waseca, Minnesota, and included a short editorial regarding the upcoming wedding of President Cleveland (*The Florida Chautauqua*, May 1886, 39-40).

This edition made frequent mention of education and educational philosophy. The paper described the dedication of a new institution in De Funiak Springs, McCormick University. Dedicated on April 29, 1886, the institution was named for Mr. McCormick, president of Muscogee Lumber Company and a generous benefactor of the educational institution (*The Florida Chautauqua*, May 1886, 40). Dr. A. H. Gillet, superintendent of the Florida Chautauqua, and Bishop Mallalieu spoke. Bishop Mallalieu addressed education and its philosophical basis, declaring "[t]hat the great idea of this age is universal education. Not culture for all in the highest meaning of that term, but widely extended knowledge of the few fundamental and important things which make comfort and decency in living possible to all our race" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, May 1886, 39). In an evening address related to the dedication of the University, Mr. Wallace Bruce

“emphasized the importance of laying the foundations of an education in moral integrity and a keen perception of the needs of spiritual nature and the relation of the Bible and Christianity to them” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, May 1886, 39). The assembly prominently featured the same emphasis on moral education.

A short article that appeared later in the paper regarding the teachers' conference held during the 1886 assembly repeated this concept of the moral aspect of education. “The moral emphasis placed upon every thing should also be mentioned, for this is, after all, the most important part of education, and a teacher without clear religious convictions is not the one to instruct the children and place them upon the road to noble manhood” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, May 1886, 40). The link between cultural competency and religion is a significant aspect of the Florida Chautauqua text in its early stages. Religion was the major influence informing education and culture in this society.

While these statements appeared in addresses at unique events, they also provide information on the textual approach to education found in the Florida Chautauqua. First, education as a general concept was central to much of the Chautauquan ideal. Indeed, at least in the early years, a majority of the program and associated activities were educational in nature, either formally (as in class offerings) or informally (as in periodic general lecture topics). It was through this education that those in attendance would come to recognize value in a variety of goods (literature, music, drama, etc.) and at the same time be given the necessary tools to appropriate the goods. Second, not just any type of education was acceptable or desirable, but education with a moral

foundation usually found in the exercising of religious influence. Given the moral and educational climate of Northwest Florida at this time, inclusion of these principles in the general makeup of the Florida Chautauqua would have been the most commercially viable alternative.

In the early years of the Chautauqua the most prominent denominations were Protestant denominations, primarily Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopal. They impacted the construction of the textual fabric of the Florida Chautauqua with their influence on lecture topics, lecturers, entertainment, Sunday activities, and class instruction. The November 1886 paper addressed this topic, calling again for strong religious training for teachers.

Why will parents permit their children to be instructed by teachers whose moral standard is so low that they will boast of their disregard for religion, Church work, and every thing that is good? We can afford to omit one of the branches of science, we can do without a knowledge of literature, history, or art, but we can not afford to be without correct moral principles. We do not plead for dogmatic teaching; what we want is broad, deep, and abiding Christian culture; education that recognizes God in all things and produces generations of God-fearing men and women (116).

This statement highlights the parameter used to determine what was to be included in the assembly. Teachers were not to give just 'culture' but 'Christian culture.' This standard informed the practice of the promoters in the initial years.

An observation recorded in this paper foreshadows an interesting development in the Florida Chautauqua text. While the initial assemblies were replete with activities of an educational and religious nature, the paper noted that "the people desire a little more

rest and recreation, and not quite so much hard work. It is true, perhaps, that the management overestimated the capacity for mental application and are now seeing their mistake" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, May 1886, 40). Practice reveals this acknowledgment in later assemblies in which entertainment became a more prominent part of the program, while sessions of a religious or educational nature (including organized class work) were tempered. This change also indicates that the management was sensitive to the desires of the constituency which, if not met, would negatively impact economic success.

With the 1887 assembly approaching quickly, the November, December, and January editions of the *Florida Chautauqua* focused on marketing the specifics of the assembly and creating interest and desire in the reader to attend the assembly. General articles continued as before, recounting the activities of various C.L.S.C. circles and entreating subscriptions, but the paper also included more specific information on the content of the next assembly. The paper now claimed circulation of 75,000 copies going to every state of the union. In addition, the publishers noted that they were preparing 15,000 "hand-books" to be distributed at the assembly (The *Florida Chautauqua*, November 1886, 116). In the 1880s ninety thousand copies would have been significant coverage for any advertiser.

The primary purpose of the papers was promotion of the assembly by furnishing the readers with material allowing them to create a personal textual representation of the event. In promoting the lecture program, the printed matter promised that "the patrons of the

Florida Chautauqua may rest assured that no pains will be spared to make the lecture program one of the very best" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, November 1886, 117). The printed matter must "sell" the readers the idea that the exchange of time and money for attendance would be advantageous to them. The printed materials must both create a desire for cultural competence and provide the means to satisfy that desire. An excellent example of this creation/satisfaction dichotomy is the description of one of the classes offered in the school of oratory.

The advantages arising from the culture and development of the arts of speech are many. (a) It develops the body, giving an erect and dignified carriage, ease of manner and grace of movement. (b) It is an accomplishment equal to music or painting, and is of more practical benefit. (c) It creates a genuine taste for history, poetry, and dramatic literature; it discovers new beauties in every line and creates literary taste. (d) It is of practical service. It purifies the voice; renders it expressive; modulates it; gives it swell and cadence, and makes it pleasing and impressive. (e) It affords a means of entertainment at home; in society, and in public (The *Florida Chautauqua*, November 1886, 117).

This passage related the practical and the artistic to make the activity more palatable. Regularly in the written materials promoting the assembly, the reader may identify this pattern of hyperbole in describing the benefits of a particular activity or teacher. It was a key element in the creation of a positive perception of the assembly.

The December 1886 edition of the *Florida Chautauqua* newspaper contained the first lengthy description of the 1887 assembly. In addition to the layout and content of the upcoming program, the paper also provided interesting and important information about the assembly and its construction.

In an apparent attempt to answer criticisms aimed at the Florida assembly, the editors included the entire Act of Incorporation passed by the Florida Senate and Assembly (see Appendix A). They note that “[t]he following is a copy of the charter as found in the public documents of the state of Florida, and the reading of it, we trust, will satisfy all who have entertained any fears concerning the permanence and purpose of the organization” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, December 1886, 122). The editors saw the publication of this material as important in reaching the goal of establishing the reliability of the assembly.

Twelve short sections laid out the format for the assembly, including the original board, name and title of the organization, objects and purpose, administrative hierarchy, and financial structure. As detailed in Chapter One, the purpose of the assembly was broadly educational in nature, with a strong religious influence. The Act gave the assembly the right to hold semi-annual or annual sessions as it deemed appropriate, although there is no indication that a semi-annual session was ever held.

Sections nine through twelve reveal an insight into an important textual facet of the assembly. These sections deal with the commerciality of the Florida Chautauqua, and though they may be easily overlooked, they point to the underlying goal of the institution: profit. The board of directors, through various printed materials, presented an assembly with high and noble goals of improving individuals’ educational and social standings, but the fact remained that this was a corporation with an initial capital stock of one hundred thousand dollars. Income derived from the sale of “real estate, gate

fees, rentals, class fees, privileges and contracts, donations or appropriations" was to be appropriated for "the erection of buildings, improvement of the grounds, and carrying forward the educational work of the Association, and any surplus remaining may be disposed of by action of the Board of Directors" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, December 1886, 123). Since there were shareholders to satisfy, the board would have made conscious decisions to protect and improve the shareholders' investments.

The promoters of the Florida Chautauqua worked deliberately to establish the name and reputation of the De Funiak assembly. They found themselves on the defensive when others tried to imply that the Florida Chautauqua had changed venues. Apparently others had advertised that "The Southern Chautauqua meets this year at ——." The promoters responded that "[a]ll this is misleading, and not the proper thing. There is room for all, and we wish all abundant success; but let it be achieved by work and money, and not by drawing from the reputation acquired by the Florida Chautauqua at De Funiak Springs," (*The Florida Chautauqua*, January 1887, 141). The management had to protect the De Funiak Springs assembly from losing income to rival assemblies.

The newspapers utilized every approach conceivable in presenting elements that would be deemed desirable by potential customers, painting De Funiak Springs as "cosmopolitan," with great social advantages. To encourage families, the editors of the January issue touted the advantages for children who accompany parents to the assembly.

Parents need have no fear about their little ones. Bad company is not to be found; immoral places are unknown in this quiet retreat; profanity and vulgar speech are never heard; but on the contrary, everything has a refining influence. Children come in contact with people of taste and culture (The *Florida Chautauqua*, January 1887, 133).

This reading of the Chautauquan text reaffirms the “rightness” of parents attending with children, assuring them that far from being detrimental to their children’s well-being, the Florida Chautauqua would do nothing but improve the children. The children, too, could benefit and acquire cultural goods even through informal contact.

The writings also heavily promoted the cultural aspect advertising De Funiak Springs as a Winter haven for the refined. “Though only a few years old, it has already attracted a community of cultured and refined people who give the place a most delightful social atmosphere” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, November 1886. 114). Dr. Edward Brooks in an article in the November issue of *The Florida Chautauqua* newspaper entitled “Attractions of De Funiak Springs” summarized all the textual features of the Florida Chautauqua that made it desirable to the interested individual:

Do you wish a pleasant and healthy climate; here you will find it. Do you wish to combine instruction and culture with pleasure and health; here is the place to do it. Do you wish to study music, painting, literature, teaching, elocution, etc., while enjoying the salubrity of a Southern Winter; you will find these subjects taught here by masters of these arts. Do you wish to listen to some of the most eminent lecturers and divines of the country; here you will have an opportunity of doing so. Do you wish to meet refined and cultured people from the North, and some of the kindest and most cultured people representing both the old and new South; here you will find these wishes most pleasantly gratified. Finally, if you wish to take a Southern trip, combining health, pleasure, instruction, culture, and have a good

time generally, do not fail to examine the attractions of De Funiak Springs" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, November 1886, 114).

According to Brooks, De Funiak Springs and the Florida Chautauqua lacked nothing that any cultured person would desire. Conversely, the individual desiring culture would find an appropriate avenue for acquisition at the Florida Chautauqua and in De Funiak Springs. The marketing of cultural goods and the acquisition of cultural competence is most obvious in passages such as this paragraph.

The January issue of the newspaper includes an attempt to defuse possible resistance to another Chautauqua institution, the C.L.S.C. The South resisted the C.L.S.C.'s home-study curriculum, and the editors found it necessary to promote this textual facet of the movement. The importance may be twofold. First, this movement allowed for the continued education and improvement of the individuals involved. It provided in-depth study not possible at the short assemblies as well as a social framework for interaction on the local community level. Second, this institution had a strong commercial aspect. Members of the C.L.S.C. bought materials, primarily books, to complete the course work. With a growing number involved in the C.L.S.C., profits would improve. The paper observed that "much will be said about this organization during the present session of the Assembly" and therefore found it necessary to make "a few statements with special application to those in the South who may be inclined to test the merits of the course of study, as pursued by the members of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, January 1887, 136).

The C.L.S.C. functioned as a chapter in the textual fabric of the Chautauqua movement, and this article serves to outline the nature of the institution. By presenting six tenets, the author attempted to increase the value and desirability of the program in the minds of the potential consumer. The first tenet, "It is a college for the Home," declared that "refinement must emanate from the home" and "knowledge is a treasure to be prized very highly." The second tenet, "It is a college for any whose early training was limited, and who desire, even late in life, to supply this deficiency," illustrates one of the primary reasons for the emergence of the entire Chautauqua movement. A poor public education system, with limited access, left many poorly educated and was a problem particularly in the South, since, up to the Civil War, parents managed education in the home with private tutors and primarily reserved education for boys. The third tenet, "It is a scheme by which moments of leisure, that might otherwise be wasted, are turned to good account," addressed "social frivolities" which caused individuals to waste time more profitably spent in education. Both the third and fourth tenet reveal a strong Protestant work ethic. The fourth declared that "the C.L.S.C. is a very potent means to remove an unnatural desire for light and unprofitable reading." The tenet promoted the C.L.S.C. as bringing "readers and students in contact with the best minds of the age, and gives them an outlook over the field of literature, art, philosophy, science, and religion, that will enable them to do their part in the work of intelligently building up mankind and making this world wiser and better." Tenet five asserted the universality of the C.L.S.C.: "The C.L.S.C. reaches into every walk of life and has

something helpful for all.” The final tenet proclaimed the balance achieved in individual lives when studying in the C.L.S.C. system: “The C.L.S.C. believes in an education of mind and heart.” In explaining this tenet, the author warned that

the training of one without the other is dangerous. The mind developed without the heart runs into skepticism, and the heart educated without the mind produces bigotry or religious intolerance: both, well balanced, form a grand whole, a character that may be relied upon for noble work in things pertaining to present and future life (*The Florida Chautauqua*, January 1887, 136).

This article demonstrates the emphasis placed on the C.L.S.C. in the Chautauqua movement. The article also reinforces the concept of education and repeated contact as necessary to the acquisition of literary/cultural competence.

The actual program content for the 1887 session contained only minor changes from the 1885 and 1886 programs. Special events included the Inter-State Teachers' Congress and the Florida State Teachers' Institute for the second year held February 23-March 3. Also in its second year was the Southern Forestry Congress held February 15-18. A first-time event was the meeting of the Farmers' and Gardeners' Institute March 8-10.

The program contained several familiar classes, again including the Teachers' Normal Institute, the Ministers' Institute, the School of Oratory, The Art School, the School of Music, The Kindergarten and Kindergarten Normal, and the Sunday-School Normal. The Teachers' Normal Institute was a six-week course of instruction covering the work required for the teaching certificate exam in the states of Georgia, Alabama, and Florida. This offering reinforced the commitment of the

Chautauqua directors to providing advancement in educational opportunities for its clientele.

The presentation of the various course work gives prominence to the Ministers' Institute, with an extensive list of lecturers and their topics, which included Biblical Theology, Practical Theology, Church Government, and Hygiene. In addition, the program anticipated the forming of classes in Hebrew, Greek, Sermon Making, and Elocution. The institute plans included a Symposium on Missions. Evidence indicates that this aspect of the course work at the assembly was viewed as vital to the ministers who could be persuaded to come. A library and reading-room offered "the leading religious papers, quarterlies, and magazines of the country" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, January 1887, 142). Ministers could bring provisions to be added to a community food store and received "market rates" for the provisions, thus lowering their cost of attendance. Special rail rates were available also. Room rent, tuition, library tickets, and admission to all the Institutes' services were free, and for those clergy who were still unable to afford the rail rates, the railroad established a special fund to provide them with the means to attend the assembly. The emphasis on the importance of attendance reflected deeply the makeup of the Florida Chautauqua text, demonstrating that initially there was an exceptional religious emphasis to be found in the texture of the assembly. While there was a strong commercial sense to the other aspects of the institution, this portion retained a great deal of the educational and religious attitude promoted so strongly throughout the early years of the assembly. Even if they did not pay, the attendance of the ministers had

commercial implications. These implications were twofold: first, if the ministers could be enticed to attend a session for a low cost, they could be convinced through first-hand observation of the value of the assembly in their own lives and thus influenced to return as full paying customers in future years; second, they would influence their congregations through positive reports which would encourage a broader spectrum of consumers to attend.

New additions to the course work offered in the 1887 assembly included the art school under the direction of J. Ellsworth Gross, superintendent of the Dayton Photo-Engraving Company, and the School of Phonography conducted by Rev. T. T. Johnston. The art school offered instruction in antique and object drawing, painting in oil, china-tapestry and iridescent painting, repoussé, wax and clay modeling, and sketching from nature. The notice also indicated that new art rooms would be open, although it does not specify the exact location.

Continuing schools included the School of Oratory under the direction of John G. Scorer. For the 1886 assembly the title had been School of Elocution. This assembly expanded the number of classes to four: a Juvenile class, General Class, Teachers' Class, and Ministerial Class (*The Florida Chautauqua*, January 1887, 142). The School of Music also continued, with no indication of change in format. The only course not continued was the School of Cookery, which had been offered for the first two assemblies.

Overall the performance text remained similar to the two previous assemblies, still placing significant emphasis on religious

activities, including daily (or almost daily) morning devotional meetings and afternoon Vespers services. There continued to be a similar number of religiously oriented lectures, including such topics as "The Bible and Science," "The Bible Tested and triumphant," "The Church and City Evangelization [sic]," "Spiritism and Science," and "Solomon and All His Glory." The performance text included a small increase in the number of entertainments, including more vocal concerts and readings, and the travelogue was still a popular part of the program. A series of lectures entitled "Our Tour Abroad" took the audience around the world with stops in New York City, Canada, Mexico, Greece, Italy, The Yosemite, Palestine, India, Japan, China, and the western United States.

This session showed an increase in the number of general educational lectures made available to the assembly. Some, such as a series of presentations identified as "lectures" and given by the Evangelist Sam P. Jones, may have been more religious in nature, but most can be clearly identified as general education lectures. Topics included "Manhood, its Pattern and Inspiration," "The Philosophy of Vision," "The Rise and Fall of Islam," "Plato's Two-legged Animal," "How to Make Life Tell on the World," and "The Model Wife."

Many of the educational lectures also appear to have strong entertainment value in them. For example, Professor W. C. Richard presented a series of science lectures replete with experiments such as "The Marvels of Magnetism and Related Sciences." Professor Frank Beard lectured on "Psychology" with "experiments in ventriloquism, mesmerism, and spiritualism" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, January 1887,

138). Dr. J. William Jones lectured from personal experience on "The Boys in Gray; or, the Confederate Soldier as I knew him in camp, on the march, in battle and hospital, from Harper's Ferry in '61 to Appomattox in '65."

This program continued the broad performance text first seen in the earlier sessions. The schedule reflected the values and desires of the general public at that time. Emphasizing educational (or pseudo-educational) opportunities with a limited number of entertainments legitimized the assembly for many people. What they could gain in cultural competence was worth the time and money they spent at the assembly. With limited educational opportunities in the South, the assembly was even more desirable to those seeking to increase their competence.

The March 1887 issue of the *Florida Chautauqua* appeared during the midpoint of the session. The paper continued to promote the 1887 assembly by discussing early events in the session and pointing out their favorable reception. The paper reproduced several addresses delivered in the session, including, "The Function of the American Public School" by Dr. W. H. Payne, a speech delivered to the Teachers' Congress on February 25, 1887.

A summary of the assembly to date declared that "the first three weeks have been a pronounced success in every respect. All doubts as to the possibility of the enterprise have disappeared, and the Assembly at De Funiak Springs is an established fact" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, March 1887, 4). To further bolster his claims, the author compared the history of the Florida Chautauqua with the history of the original

assembly in Chautauqua, New York, observing that “[p]ersons who are familiar with the early history and growth of Chautauqua, N.Y., can see how the Florida Chautauqua has developed far more rapidly than even the mother institution” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, March 1887, 4).

Without giving actual attendance figures, the paper claimed that the session opened with full attendance. Early lectures/sermons by Evangelist Sam P. Jones purportedly attracted “thousands of people from near and far” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, March 1887, 4).

Samuel Porter Jones was a well known evangelist born in Alabama and reared in Georgia. Originally trained as a lawyer, Jones began preaching in 1872. He was so successful as a rural circuit preacher that he soon took up evangelism for the Methodist church, raising funds for a Georgia orphanage in the process. In the year prior to his appearance at the 1887 Florida Chautauqua, Jones had meetings in many major cities including Cincinnati, Chicago, Indianapolis, Kansas City, and Toronto. Reports claim the Chicago meeting had over 260,000 in attendance during the five-week session (“Samuel Porter Jones,” online). His income averaged \$30,000 per year! He had a prime interest in lecturing against the liquor industry and was especially successful in the South where some communities outlawed saloons (“Samuel Porter Jones,” online). Jones toured the Chautauqua circuit every summer after 1885 until his death in 1906. His popularity in Northern cities would have played well at the winter Chautauqua with the many northerners who probably attended.

According to reports, those in attendance filled hotels and boarding houses to capacity and erected over one hundred new

cottages/residences since the previous assembly (*The Florida Chautauqua*, March 1887, 5). Sources predicted that another one hundred fifty more cottages and hotels would be constructed before the 1888 session. A separate report on the Teachers' Congress indicates that about two hundred twenty-five teachers from twenty-three counties attended the Congress and Chautauqua sessions (*The Florida Chautauqua*, March 1887, 5).

Educationally, the paper declared the Florida Chautauqua a success. While the March issue was primarily concerned with reporting events, it continued to contain a significant amount of advertising and selling. The assembly still had three weeks remaining and future assemblies were already planned. The paper communicated the value of attending the variety of activities by stressing that all those involved in the assembly — lecturers, entertainers, instructors— went above and beyond the normal requirements for their presentation, spending extra time explaining or performing at the request of the audience.

The April 1887 issue of the *Florida Chautauqua* newspaper provided a further summary of activities of the now concluded 1887 session. The paper included reviews of most of the speakers and departments. One reporter summarized the session by saying, “[c]onsidered from every stand-point the Assembly was a success, and we can look back with satisfaction and pride upon the work of 1887” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, April 1887, 23).

While a major portion of the paper seems devoted to reporting on the just-completed session, it is also evident that a primary goal of much of the writing was to encourage future attendance at this

Chautauqua and others, reinforcing the commercial aspiration of the assembly. Several articles reviewed the purpose and goals of the Assembly and how the Florida Chautauqua could satisfy those goals.

From early in the morning until late at night, and not only in one place, but often in many different places at the same time, are carried on studies and entertainments, any one of which is profitable to attend. But on account of the variety of tastes and wants, this variety and superabundance of entertainment must be provided (The *Florida Chautauqua*, April 1887, 22).

The paper summarized a speech presented by Dr. Edward Brooks as part of the Normal Institute's graduation exercises: "The aim of the Chautauqua is the highest social, intellectual, and spiritual development of the people. In other words, its object is Christian civilization" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, April 1887, 25). The communication of these lofty goals to the reader contributed to the establishment of a need and a means for meeting that need.

One article sought to break down resistance to the Florida Chautauqua by relating a short narrative regarding a visitor who had misgivings about the Assembly in an article entitled "A Common Experience." The visitor declared that for too long he had ridiculed the "foolish idea that induces so many people to go wild over this place" and that he must visit and make up his own mind. By the end of his visit (observed by the "reporter"), "he was soon filled with enthusiasm, and left, at the end of the week, one of the greatest admirers that De Funiak Springs possesses" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, April 1887, 23).

Besides providing a summary of the 1887 Assembly, the April edition of the newspaper also looked forward, continuing the process of writing the Florida Chautauqua and the Chautauqua movement in

general. It announced that “plans for the Assembly of 1888 are already taking shape” with “many new departments” being added and “the whole scope of the work is to be widened” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, April 1887, 24).

Prominent notices regarding other assemblies broadened the narrative presented in the papers. A front page article noted that there were now more than fifty assemblies holding yearly programs. In addition, the printed program included an “Assembly Calendar” giving the dates for assemblies in Michigan, New York, Ohio, Indiana, Minnesota, Kentucky, Colorado, Kansas, and several other locations. The paper requested “conductors of assemblies and various educational institutes” to send the time of their meetings for inclusion in future publications. Up to this time, the newspapers had been primarily concerned with the Florida Chautauqua in De Funiak Springs, even sharply criticizing other Florida assemblies that inferred in advertising that they were the Florida assembly. The inclusion of information regarding other assemblies helped place the Florida Chautauqua text in the larger context of the national Chautauqua movement. Placing the Florida Chautauqua in a larger setting gave the assembly credibility by leading the reader to understand that this assembly was not an isolated, unreliable organization but part of a national movement.

The advertising of the newspaper also reflects this broader scope. The paper, published in Cincinnati, Ohio, now claims to have access to homes in every state of the nation. Early programs had limited the advertising primarily to De Funiak Springs and Pensacola. As the content of the paper enlarged, the advertising became more

national in scope as well. Publishers in Cincinnati, Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York offered various books and associated materials. Educational institutions and opportunities also advertised, including the Chicago Medical College and the Niagara Falls Summer-school for Teachers. Rail lines expanded their advertising as well, no longer limiting themselves to advertising the routes to the Florida Chautauqua, but anticipating the coming summer season with its assemblies in New York and other locations. The Assembly Lecture Bureau in Cincinnati occupied a one-half page advertisement, presenting its lecturers and entertainers, many of whom had just finished engagements in the Florida Chautauqua. This broader scope is perhaps a keen strategy by the promoters to build an image of the Florida assembly denying provincialism. The assembly desired to avoid appearing as a rural or local event, but rather sought to create a cosmopolitan atmosphere that would attract Northerners and their money.

As an institution the Florida Chautauqua showed promise as indicated by the 1887 session and its accompanying writings. While exact attendance figures were never discussed, various articles indicate steady growth in attendance at sessions. With the fledgling assembly on somewhat firmer ground, the newspapers began turning their attention ever increasingly to the national Chautauqua movement.

The June 1887 edition of the newspaper recognized the widening circle of influence and concern and changed names from the *Florida Chautauqua* to the *Chautauqua Camp and Fireside*. The

subheading noted that it was "A Literary Journal devoted to Popular Education and Assembly Work." The editors observed that

it is the best thing for the Assemblies we represent, the readers to whom we desire to give the greatest amount of interesting matter, and to ourselves, who are anxious to produce a creditable journal, and make it a success in every respect. The popular Assembly has become one of the most important factors in education, and deserves a proper recognition by educational journals and readers, especially those who participate in the exercises of the various assemblies. . . . Our relation to the Florida Chautauqua Assembly will not be altered (*Chautauqua Camp and Fireside*, June 1887, 56).

This change allowed the paper to become an official organ of the Lakeside Assembly.

While the paper noted that its scope would broaden, a major portion of the content in the June issue reflected its concern with the Florida Assembly. This edition included lengthy summaries of lectures delivered to the teacher's institute, as well as summaries of entertainment and general instruction lectures. Other short articles served to admonish and instruct the reader on a variety of topics, including Sunday school work and work among the poor. The paper also offered a brief program schedule for the Lakeside assembly.

Pursuing its stated goal of including more information on more assemblies, various articles and notices either previewed, reviewed, or simply gave notice about the other assemblies of the summer. About fifty Chautauqua assemblies were now operating. The editors heralded the benefit of this mode of instruction.

As a result, [of the fifty assemblies] we are already beginning to notice the increase of intelligence among all classes; and who knows but that our great prosperity as a nation is due, to some extent at least, to the liberal education of our people. It is by the introduction of this liberal training that we are enabled, also, to

crowd out much of the vicious and pernicious matter that gains access even to some of our best homes. . .(*Chautauqua Camp and Fireside*, June 1887, 57).

This is a very broad statement attributing tremendous results and influences to the Chautauqua educational movement.

In addition to the assemblies advertised in earlier editions, the paper now gave notice for assemblies in Acton Park, Indiana; Bluff Park, Iowa; Clear Lake, Iowa; Long Beach, California; East Epping, New Hampshire; Island Heights, New Jersey; Monona Lake, Wisconsin; Mahtomedi, Minnesota; Warrensburg, Missouri; Mountain Lake Park, Maryland; Fryeburg, Maine; Crete, Nebraska; South Framingham, Massachusetts; Ocean Grove, New Jersey; Ottawa, Kansas; Monterey, California; Puget Sound; Round Lake, New York; Seaside, New Jersey; and Winfield, Kansas. This list demonstrates the tremendous spread of the Chautauqua movement and programs such as the Florida Chautauqua. The Florida Chautauqua did not operate in a vacuum, and in a certain sense is part of a larger text than is immediately accessible.

The July and August issues of the *Chautauqua Camp and Fireside* focused on the summer assemblies, particularly Lakeside, and mentioned little, if anything, regarding the Florida Chautauqua, but the September edition mentioned two notable events regarding De Funiak Springs and the assembly. While giving no particular details, the paper mentioned that a recent storm had destroyed the McCormick Institute building and damaged several assembly buildings. The paper also announced the establishment of the State Normal School of Florida in De Funiak Springs. This college, the precursor of Florida

State University, further enhanced and broadened the reputation of the Florida Chautauqua as an educational institution.

1888
February 16 - March 15
Fourth Session

The publication of the October 1887 edition of the *Chautauqua Camp and Fireside* began to focus attention again on the Florida Assembly and plans for the upcoming session in February of 1888. The paper also gave further summary of the Lakeside Assembly. Several small news items hinted at preparations being made for the assembly of 1888, although this edition did not include details.

The next available issue of the newspaper is January 1888, the month before the opening of the 1888 session. The issue included great detail regarding the upcoming session. As in other editions of the paper, its advertisement and news items were designed to present textual material for the future assembly that would create or encourage a desire in the reader to attend. The general description of the program promised that the assembly "will be in many respects more brilliant than any of its predecessors" (*Chautauqua Camp and Fireside*, January 1888, 164). Recreation received significant attention with descriptions of concerts, bands, parades, illuminations, camp-fires, ox-cart excursions, socials, receptions, candy-pullings and a "list of healthful and delightful entertainments . . . too long to mention here" (*Chautauqua Camp and Fireside*, January 1888, 164). In addition to the regular assembly program, the 1888 assembly included the third annual session of the Teachers' Inter-state Congress and State Teachers' Institute.

Departments of school work included the Sunday School Normal, Devotional Meetings, The School of Music with chorus instruction and classes in voice culture, The School of Art with the departments of Fine Art and Decorative Art, The School of Elocution divided into three classes (the Children's Class, General Class for Adults, and The Teachers' Class), The School of Physical Culture including a Normal Class and General Class, The School of Typewriting and Stenography, The Kindergarten and Kindergarten Normal Class, and the Department of the C. L. S. C.

The promotion of the classes and lectures is a prominent feature of the January edition. Separate paragraphs described many of the speakers/lecturers/entertainers and highlighted certain departments, such as the Art department which offered "so wide a range [of activities] that they are superior to those that may be obtained in many of our large cities" (*Chautauqua Camp and Fireside*, January 1888, 167). These descriptions were necessary to create a text that would prompt a desire for these cultural goods and a strong enough promise to provide the tools necessary to appropriate them.

If the promoters did not create a clear and persuasive enough text, they ran the risk that individuals would not attend the De Funiak Springs assembly because of its remoteness and possibly perceived inadequacies of modern conveniences, or because a disposition toward cultural goods was not sufficiently fostered, or because the numerous other assemblies (including the Mt. Dora assembly in Florida), might be viewed as having stronger programs (and thus provide greater or easier appropriation), easier access, greater

conveniences, or other textual features the Florida Chautauqua could not match. To this end, the editors of the newspapers included bold pronouncements such as,

The coming Assembly in Florida promises to be by far the best ever held at De Funiak Springs. The institution has grown beyond the expectation of its founders . . . New facilities are added every year; improvements have been made everywhere on the grounds. . . . The choicest people from every part of the United States are drawn together, so that, socially considered, no other place is superior to this. There is also a total absence of every objectionable element: no saloon or gambling-houses of any sort (*Chautauqua Camp and Fireside*, January 1888, 168).

The writings included every item which showed progress or might indicate benefit over other assemblies to strengthen the claim that if an individual were to attend only one Chautauqua, the De Funiak Springs assembly should be the session to attend. This description gives a thorough picture of the cultural performance in the early stages of the Florida Chautauqua. The performance included the choicest elements from facilities to people and, equally important, excluded every element deemed objectionable—here partially defined as saloons or gambling-houses.

The inclusion of such phrases as “best ever held,” “grown beyond,” “added every year,” “improvements . . . made everywhere,” “choicest people . . . every part,” and “total absence” was an important textual feature of the Florida Chautauqua. The Florida Chautauqua presented itself as the tour de force of Chautauquas, second only to the original Chautauqua assembly in New York. Textually the printed material presented an assembly without flaw and with tremendous cultural advantages for anyone desiring cultural competence. If the

presentation were successful, the programs would attract consumers which translated into monetary rewards for the promoters and stockholders.

While the newspaper boasted an outstanding program (the “best ever held”), an analysis of the actual content of the 1888 session reveals a program similar to the earlier sessions of the Florida Chautauqua, if not inferior. Musical and speech entertainments were fewer in number than in the first three programs, with only four events identifiable as primarily musical in nature, three segments primarily speech in nature, and four events which combined speech and music. The religious portion of the program was comparable to previous years with a daily “Analytical Bible Reading,” apparently similar to the devotional meetings held previously. Several religious lectures supplemented that aspect of the program. Sundays remained similar in content, with the exception that Sunday school met in the afternoon at 3:00 p.m. instead of in the morning. This time frame was only used this one year.

A recurring portion of the program, the travelogue, was present in this assembly as well, but with a different structure. The “Foreign Tourists” was a group or club established to study a variety of places abroad with the aid of the stereopticon. This structure was copied from the New York Chautauqua’s “Chautauqua Tourist.” Printed material supplemented the study. “To members of the Tourist company small hand-books of the places visited will be distributed, and on the day following a conference will be held, in which the leader will seek to elicit all the information possible concerning the place visited the

evening before" (*Chautauqua Camp and Fireside*, January 1888, 168-169). This is an indication that one strongly sought cultural good was worldly sophistication. Members desired to be knowledgeable of foreign or domestically exotic locales and cultures.

Course work was still a vital part of the program. While the program revealed no great increase in the number of courses of study offered, a shift in emphasis is evident. The first three assemblies scheduled both a morning and an afternoon general lecture. This practice was not continued in the 1888 assembly. Instead, individual class instruction replaced the morning general lecture, while the afternoon lecture remained intact.

The general educational lectures again covered a broad spectrum of topics. Several were scientific in nature and included experiments. Professor John B. DeMotte presented several of these, including "The Witchery of a Glance: or How a Beam of Light Tells Its Story" and "The Sounds We Hear, and How We Make Them." The schedule also included several lectures about women: "The Evolution of Woman" and "The Coming Woman." It is possible that these speeches were the result of the growing suffrage movement. Both speeches were presented by men. The lectures demonstrated a desire on the part of the assembly to be current in its offerings.

While separate musical and speech events were few, the 1888 program for the first time scheduled musical or speech entertainment in conjunction with the educational lectures. Of the twenty-eight lectures, fourteen included musical selections or readings. These provided an interesting combination of cultural goods.

The publishers issued the March edition of *The Chautauqua Camp and Fireside* while the 1888 session was underway, giving a brief look at the assembly and the events already past. This issue repeated much of the material from the January issue, with a continuation of the promotion of the assembly. "From the very outset there seemed to be indications that the session of '88 would be by far the best held since the inauguration of the institution. The very first audience almost filled the spacious tabernacle, and enthusiasm ran high" (*Chautauqua Camp and Fireside*, March 1888, 196). The large attendance numbers indicate a measure of economic success for this assembly.

The 1888 assembly included several interesting changes in activities and format. The newspapers stressed the social life of the meeting significantly more than in previous years, an emphasis evident in several issues of the newspapers. Columns repeatedly mentioned social gatherings sponsored by prominent citizens and temporary guests. The social life constituted a cultural performance that would be important in the lives of those in attendance. This type of social contact would reinforce the formal acquisition of cultural competence extended through the formal Chautauqua sessions. It is this type of "apprenticeship" that Bourdieu describes as playing a vital role in connoisseurship. According to Bourdieu, much of the acquisition of the tools necessary to appropriate cultural works occurs unconsciously, "acquired by slow familiarization, a long succession of 'little perceptions.'" The exposure to cultural works through contact with individuals already competent in the area would help reinforce the

internalization of the principles and rules of cultural works without conscious formulation (Bourdieu, 228). This development along with the formal training classes in subjects and the observation of cultural goods in practice (i.e. musical concerts, readings, etc.) provided the individual with a total approach to acquiring cultural competency.

Another change for the 1888 Assembly was the announcement of a daily newspaper, the *Daily Critic*. This paper gave daily schedules and recapped the previous day's events. The growth of the assembly was evident in the fact that several classes met in private cottages. The School of Decorative Art met in the parlors of the McDaniel cottage and the School of Elocution in the parlor of the Van Kirk cottage. Other classes were held in the Library, Tabernacle platform, and Normal-school building (*Chautauqua Camp and Fireside*, March 1888, 196-197).

No printed material is extant for the assemblies of 1889 and 1890. Scattered inferences indicate that activities at these assemblies were similar to the previous years. Assemblies did take place during these years, as reflected in the numbering of later assemblies.

1891
February 4 - March 16
Seventh Session

The last extant copy of the *Chautauqua Camp and Fireside* was published in December 1890. The 1891 session lasted just under six weeks, from February 4 through March 16. The opening lines of the paper reiterated the message seen in many of the printed programs up to this time: the Florida Chautauqua was unequalled in all its aspects.

For those who desire to be fully occupied and supplement home and school education with lines somewhat thorough and systematic, there are schools. . . For those who have but little time or inclination for these, there are lectures on Literary, Social, Historical, and other topics, many of them beautifully illustrated, Concerts, Readings, out of door entertainments, etc. For the overworked, the invalid, there is nothing better than the change and variety which such an assembly program affords (*Chautauqua Camp and Fireside*, December 1890, 1).

This message was repeated for the benefit of those potential newcomers as well as for past attendees who may have needed reassurance.

The paper included a preliminary program for the 1891 session and indicated that course work for the upcoming assembly would include Sunday School Normal, School of Methods, Farmers Institute, School of Decorative and Fine Arts, School of Wood Carving, Department of Oratory and Physical Culture, Kindergarten and Kindergarten Normal, Music and Tabernacle Lectures.

The paper also spent a considerable amount of space reviewing the history of the Florida Chautauqua and looking forward to the future. The article ended with a call to all who were interested to take up the challenge that expansion brings. "There's a great work to do, men, women, money, everything is wanted, who will help?" (*Chautauqua Camp and Fireside*, December 1890, 4).

An interesting feature of this paper is the inclusion of "Characteristic Comments." These presumably unsolicited comments supported the claims stated elsewhere regarding the benefits, both intellectual and physical, of the Florida Chautauqua. The editor included comments such as "I regard the Florida Chautauqua as the most important of its kind in the United States," "An Ideal place, and an

ideal work, and Floridians are thoroughly in love with the one and proud of the other,” and “He who would desire any thing finer than De Funiak Springs, and the Florida Chautauqua would hardly be contented with any thing earth can furnish” (*Chautauqua Camp and Fireside*, December 1890, 6). These “comments” were important to the textual makeup of the Florida Chautauqua, since they represented the attempt to appear legitimate in the readers’ eye. The “unbiased” opinions allowed those in charge of the Florida assembly to declare outside authentication of their claims. The ultimate goal was to increase attendance and gate receipts.

1892 Eighth Session

While no printed program is currently known to exist for the 1892 session, a report filed by Dr. A. H. Gillet serves as the basis for observations about the session. The report, entitled “Report of the Superintendent of Instruction to the Stockholders at their Annual Meeting,” appeared in a new paper, *The Florida Chautauqua*. While the name is similar, the volume and number (both 1) indicate that it is a different series.

The educational offerings for the 1892 session included Kindergarten, Music, Delsarte, New Testament Greek, German, Memory, and Physical Training. Gillet reported that Music was the most successful department and that the class work in English New Testament and New Testament Greek “was a new departure and most acceptable to a goodly number of our most thoughtful patrons” (Gillet, 2).

Gillet gave the stockholders a summary of the various sessions, including the number of events in each category, as follows:

General Lectures	29
Lectures on Greek Literature	5
Lectures on Botany	3
Lectures on Physiology	3
Lectures on Music	4
Lectures on English New Testament	12
Concerts by Assembly talent	6
Special Concerts	5
Sermons	8
Other Meetings	10

In addition to these eighty-five sessions, the assembly included almost two hundred fifty class work sessions. This distribution demonstrates a strong emphasis on both education and religion.

The financial status of the Florida Chautauqua was still somewhat tenuous. The report indicated that "the Florida Chautauqua has always been conducted at a loss to the stockholder" (2). However, the work was continued because "the work being done is an important one —the fruits of which appear every year" (2). Expenses for the 1892 session totaled \$2,891.48. Receipts from tickets, rent, the Hotel, and collections totaled \$2,500.48 for a deficit of \$391, the smallest by several hundred dollars from any previous year. The institution employed seventy-two people.

Why would the promoters continue a work which was still losing money after seven years? In addition to the noble reason stated above, there were undoubtedly residual economic benefits not immediately evident in the report of gate receipts and assembly expenses. While there are no sources to verify and give details, the railroad would have benefited from the ridership on a new line and the town of De Funiak

Springs was growing, caused in great measure by the encouragement of the institution. This residual effect is similar to that of modern day Olympics and world's fairs where the event itself may be less than successful, but the community and those associated with sponsoring the event reap economic benefits.

The report contained concerns that the citizens of West Florida did not comprehend the full impact of the Florida Chautauqua. Apparently some could not justify the costs invested by the local citizenry with the benefits gained through attendance. "If the people of West Florida fully understood what the work meant to them and the state, the increased receipts would enable the management to broaden the work and thus make it more effective" (Gillet, 2). The citizens would gain cultural competence but also they and/or the town (including local business) would benefit economically.

Gillet's statements provide telling comments about the success of the Florida Chautauqua in a broad sense in its early years. Apart from the poor monetary results, it is apparent that the promoters were not totally successful in creating the disposition to recognize a value in cultural goods as mentioned by Bourdieu. Until the promoters fostered the disposition to recognize value, the acquisition of cultural goods would not take place. Northerners would have been better educated and had greater exposure to cultural goods and therefore were more amenable to the benefits of the Florida Chautauqua than the largely rural, poorly educated constituents from Northwest Florida and Southern Alabama. The commercial success of the assembly was dependent on adjusting to this problem. Revenues were increasing

slowly, so perhaps some inroads in cultural exposure were being made. Concomitantly, the local constituency received greater exposure to cultural goods throughout the year away from the assembly.

Sometime between December 1890 and the session of 1893, the paper ceased publication. The papers did provide a critical service to the Florida Chautauqua. The quarterly and then monthly publication became a major voice for the assembly, proclaiming its message to thousands of homes across the United States. The paper repeatedly declared the purposes of the assembly, directly and indirectly. The initial textualization of the Florida Chautauqua can be described in the terms found in the serial. The papers also served two other purposes. First, they contributed to the commercial nature of the Chautauqua, illustrating the overarching desire of the promoters to attract consumers and providing a forum for advertisers to reach a specific audience. The paper helped sell the goods offered in De Funiak Springs. Secondly, the paper laid the initial groundwork for the creation and satisfaction of the desire to appropriate cultural goods. The paper's brief descriptions of anticipated performers and events as well as its articles associating attendance with culture prepared consumers to accept the Chautauqua's goods.

The Florida Chautauqua as an educational, religious, and social institution was firmly established in the first decade of assemblies. In the first decade the Florida Chautauqua grew from an initial attendance of fifty individuals to reported groups of up to three thousand. Facilities expanded rapidly between 1885 and 1891 to meet the rising demand of coursework and attendance. The town of De Funiak Springs also

experienced this growth, showing increases in population, commerce, and religious and educational institutions. The content of the programs remained virtually the same through the initial years, although a trend was already beginning toward more entertainment and less religion. This trend reflected the public's desire and was more commercially successful.

**1893
February 22 - March 25
Tenth Session**

With the 1893 session, organizers returned to the initial format of printed booklets for the Chautauqua program. They produced a small, eight-page document for the tenth annual session held February 22 through March 26, 1893.⁵ The cover features a photograph of the Hotel Chautauqua on the banks of Lake De Funiak with a caption designed to entice the reader. "A Delightful Place. Good Hotel Accommodations. No Mosquitoes or Malaria. Excellent Drainage, Pure Water. A Brilliant Programme, Eloquent Lectures, First-class Music" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1893, 1). The commerciality of the assembly program is immediately evident on the inside cover, which featured the table of excursion rates for the Louisville and Nashville Railway and three accompanying ads for Webster's Dictionary, the Chautauqua Circle, and Ice and Refrigerating Machines.

The printed material of the program gave the same basic information as previous programs. The initial material gave history and

⁵1893 was the ninth year for the assembly. For unknown reasons, the booklet claims this to be the tenth session. Promoters may have been counting 1884, the year initial plans for the assembly were made.

provided a setting for the Assembly. The program indicated that the town of De Funiak Springs now boasted a population of eight hundred, "good general stores, several fine hotels, excellent public graded school, two beautiful churches and a large number of neat and even elegant homes" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1893, 3). The village was also the home of the State Normal School for whites.

The program contained little specific information about the grounds and buildings of the assembly other than a description in detail of the lake and the surrounding banks, which were viewed as a major selling point for the Florida Chautauqua, since the physical plant was otherwise limited.

One interesting article in the front matter of the program is the obituary of Dr. A. H. Gillet. Dr. Gillet, one of the original planners of the assembly and an active participant and superintendent to this point, passed away in De Funiak Springs on January 1, 1893. He had finished all preparations for the coming assembly prior to his death.

Additional material in the program provided short sketches about the performers and lecturers scheduled for the assembly. In each case, the performer or lecturer received a sterling review, apparently in order to assure the reader of the quality of the program and therefore of the benefit and value of attendance. For example, Miss Augusta Margert Geotz, a mezzo soprano scheduled to sing, is promoted as "one of the best singers we have ever been able to bring to De Funiak, except for special occasions." Madame Per Dahl, a soprano, "is not announced for any service that she does not fill the building where she sings." The program summarized six evenings of elocutionary entertainment

declaring “[w]e have hardly ever had greater richness and variety in our elocutionary department than this year” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1893, 6).

All of the written materials served much the same purpose as the dust jacket of a major novel, designed to tempt the reader to invest time and monetary value to acquire the full benefit of a complete reading. In the case of the Florida Chautauqua, that reading was attendance at the assembly and its various sessions. If the dust jacket does not evoke enough interest in the entire novel, then the commercial viability of the entire project is in question.

The program for the 1893 session was limited in scope and number of meetings. While advertisements announced a term from February 22 through March 25, non-assembly activities dominated the last week. The Florida State Teachers' Association convention occupied Tuesday, March 21, through Thursday, March 23. An excursion to Pensacola completely filled Friday, March 24. The only activity on Saturday, March 26, was a closing concert at 8:00 p.m.

The 1893 session offered organized classes in Music (Chorus, Sight-Reading, Voice Training), Fine Art, Decoration Art, China Painting, French, and German, but did not mention coursework in Sunday school Normal, Kindergarten, Normal School training, or elocution as seen in 1888. While the session length was similar to the length of the 1888 session, the overall content of the program appears to have suffered in the intervening years. Not only were coursework offerings down but also the popular travelogues were fewer in 1893 (five as compared to eighteen the first year). Musical entertainment

was also down from the early years of the program, although the number of elocutionary/ reading-type programs was comparable or slightly higher. This year included twenty general lecture sessions as compared to twenty-eight in the 1888 program, and considerably fewer programs of a religious nature were in the 1893 program as well.

The reasons for the sparse program presented in 1893 are difficult to pinpoint. The lack of complete printed programs between 1888 and 1893 prevents the analysis of a trend. The program probably represents a trend and behavior among the general population. Economic downturns in the early 1890's may have prevented the staging of lavish (and expensive) programs, as well as discouraged individuals from investing time and money in what might be viewed as an unnecessary activity. The fact that there was no session for 1894 following the economic depression of 1893 supports this conclusion. The eleventh session of the Florida Chautauqua convened in 1895.

**1895
February 21 - March 20
Eleventh Session**

With the return of the assembly in 1895, the printed program reflected growth. The number of pages increased from eight to twelve, and the size of the page from 6" x 8" to 8 1/2" x 11". The exact impetus behind this growth is not evident in the printed material. In fact, the 1895 program made no mention of the assembly missed in 1894. As if to compensate for the sparse program of 1893 and the lack of a program in 1894, the printed program for 1895 eagerly presented, as if for the first time, the story of the Florida Chautauqua. The entire first page of editorial material is a description of the Florida Chautauqua, De

Funiak Springs, and related items of interest, giving great care to the description of the natural setting of the Florida Chautauqua, dubbing the location "The Adirondacks of Western Florida." This phraseology linked the Florida assembly with the Mother Chautauqua in New York. The program described the perfect setting, noting that "[n]ature must have been in one of her serenest moods while arranging the climate and attractive surroundings that are assisting in making De Funiak Springs famous" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1895, 3). In response to the ever-present threat of malaria, the editors reassured the public that "malaria cannot climb to this height, and mosquitoes are an entirely unknown quantity" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1895, 3). The writing concluded with a short paragraph regarding the Chautauqua assembly itself.

But the glory of this famous resort is its Chautauqua. Here for five weeks every year, from the middle of February to late March, a splendid programme of lectures, music and schools is carried on, in which only the best talent in the country is used. Every day is crowded with the best of things. Continued rest and inactive idling soon grows irksome. How delightful to have close at hand a splendid lecture or a grand concert, to fill an hour and relieve the tediousness. A vacation without an intellectual uplift is a bit of precious time wasted. (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1895, 3)

This paragraph illustrates the manner in which the printed programs wrote a carefully orchestrated text of the Florida Chautauqua. To entice the reader to participate in the textual adventure of the Florida Chautauqua, the printed program stressed the quality of the undertaking ("splendid program," "best talent," "best of things") and the positive alternative presented by the program ("rest . . . idling. . . grows irksome. . . delightful. . . splendid . . . relieve"). A final entreaty to the

reader admonished that “a vacation without an intellectual uplift is a bit of precious time wasted.”

A section toward the back of the program picked up the theme of the first page of editorial comment with the short comments presented in many of the printed materials. Again the reader found a somewhat idyllic text. The climate was “just as salubrious” as California’s, but closer and cheaper. The reader was encouraged to examine the program carefully, while being assured that this was the “best program ever offered the patrons of the Florida Chautauqua.” De Funiak Springs’ society was judged first-rate, but balanced. “Here come intellectual and cultured people. No attention is given to ‘over dressing’ and to questionable and enervating amusements. You meet the ‘cream’ of society, and come in contact with many, whom to know is a liberal education” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1895, 10).

The comments from the opening page and other parts of the program presented the Florida Chautauqua in a highly favorable light, providing an introduction to the subject that enticed the reader to explore the later chapters of the text. The details of that text appear beginning on the pages which follow. While more specific, this text was no less oriented to the prospect of further enticing readers than were the opening paragraphs.

The first details presented to the reader introduced the lines of instruction available during the 1895 session.

To those longing for a wider outlook on the world and its work, and who, because of the rough ways of life, are denied much time for study, and whose opportunities for improvement are limited because of narrow and unfavorable surroundings, the

Chautauqua Assembly comes like a benediction (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1895, 4).

The program identified a tremendous increase in the number of educational opportunities for the 1895 session as compared to the 1893 session. In 1893 only five lines of instruction were clearly identifiable, while in 1895 the program lists fourteen different class departments. Classes for 1895 included Music (chorus, sight-reading, and harmony), China painting, Women's Christian Temperance Union School of Methods, the C.L.S.C. Round Tables, Primary Teachers' Normal Class, Kindergarten [sic], Young People's Normal Class, Amateur Photography, Sunday school Normal Class, Biblical Exposition, Ministers' Institute, School of Physical Culture, Elocution and Delsarte, Interpretative Recitals, and Astronomy.

These courses represented a departure from previous years in several areas. While Music and China painting courses were frequently incorporated through the years, 1895 was the only session with scheduled class times for the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Other sessions featured speakers scattered throughout the program, but no other year had an organized class for the group. This was the first time for the Photography and Astronomy course offerings. The elocution course, found frequently in the early years of the assembly, was expanded to include the currently popular instruction in physical culture and Delsarte.

Françoise Delsarte, a music and acting teacher in France from 1839 through 1871, developed the Delsarte System of Physical Culture which strongly influenced elocution and physical education through the

end of the century. Delsarte based his system on a theological belief that everything was essentially triune in composition (based on the trinity of the Godhead). Delsarte divided every part of expression into a pattern of three or nine. For example, he classified gestures according to "zones" of the body: the torso, the vital zone; the head, the intellectual zone; and the face, the moral zone. Movement also had a trinitarian representation: about the center was normal, away from the center was eccentric, and towards the center was concentric (Robb, 143-144). American teachers appropriated Delsarte's system and added their own changes to develop a system of exercises designed to provide grace and proper posture, thus Delsarte's system affected physical education as well.

A unique course offered during the 1895 session was the Interpretative Recitals by S. H. Clark. First offered at the New York Chautauqua the previous summer, they were billed as "a new departure in the study of literature" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1895, 5). In essence, the programs were lecture-recitals.

At the beginning of the lecture, the attention of the audience is directed to some fundamental principle in poetic art, as unity, contrast, dramatic background. Each is carefully explained and illustrated. Then the lecturer reads with running comment some great poem, elucidating the above principles, giving to the listener a criterion to which he can thereafter refer (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1895, 5).

This use of performance to illustrate literary devices was a new departure for both the study of literature and the instruction of interpretation in speech. This approach skillfully combined education and art competence. The individual was more capable of appropriating the poetry once she/he grasped the principles.

Solomon H. Clark was a significant figure in the field of performance studies. In 1897, two years after this presentation, Clark, of the University of Chicago, along with William B. Chamberlain from the Chicago Theological Seminary, published *Principles of Vocal Expression*. Clark's primary interest was the mental technique of interpretation. In the book, Clark stressed a conversational approach to interpretation and provided numerous activities in "colloquial diction" (Robb, 173) for students. Even at this early date Clark's shift from emphasizing delivery technique to emphasizing the literature itself was evident.

Literature contains two elements, the intellectual and the emotional. The intellectual part is that which deals with facts, for in the most ethereal poetry there must be a substantial basis. The intellectual side of literature deals with particulars, details. The contemplation of facts stimulates, under certain conditions, the poet's imagination: and that in turn stimulates his emotions. Now, the stirring of the poet's imagination is manifested in the language, style, and form in which his thought is clothed. Hence, it is our purpose to analyze literature in order that we may show that particular sounds or elements are uniformly used to express particular emotions (Chamberlain, William B. and Clark, Solomon H., *Principles of Vocal Expression*, p. 386 quoted in Robb, 174).

Clark published *Interpretation of the Printed Page* in 1915. This work clearly indicates the shift from Elocution to Interpretation and a focus on the mental process.

The lengthy listing of those employed to participate as performers or lecturers in the assembly also illustrates the expansion of the program over previous years. The program claimed that over one hundred individuals had been employed for the assembly. The program listed twelve different musical performers or groups, including

Rogers' Goshen Band (a standard feature for many years), the English Hand Bell Ringers, Barnesville Mandolin and Guitar Club, and various soloists. The five individuals listed under "Entertainments" include an impersonator, a reader, a missionary, and S. H. Clark, reader and elocutionist. The longest list, made up of more than thirty-five different speakers, appeared under "The Lecture Platform."

The content of the assembly demonstrated a greatly improved offering over the 1893 session both in terms of basic numbers and diversity of content. The assembly appears to have rebounded. Religious offerings were comparable to previous years. Sundays always consisted of Sunday school, morning sermon, Vesper service, song service, and evening sermon. Each morning during the week a devotional time was set aside; however, the session had a noticeable decline in the number of general sessions which could be identified as religiously oriented. In earlier sessions there had been a varying number of lectures that were religious in nature. This was true even in the short 1893 program.

The 1895 program witnessed a significant increase in the number of sessions that were entertaining in nature; many of them were strictly musical presentations. Concerts by Rogers' Goshen Band, The Barnesville Mandolin and Guitar Club, and The English Handbell Ringers were an almost daily occurrence. The program included musical preludes before nearly every evening lecture time, and grand concerts, featuring multiple performers, were also frequent. Professor S. H. Clark's presentation of Interpretative Recitals increased the number of speech and mixed entertainments presented.

Another category that showed tremendous increase was the general educational lectures. These lectures cannot be clearly identified with another category. This assembly program included more than thirty general lectures. Lecture titles included many diverse topics, such as "The Growth of Constitutional Government in America, Legislative Department," "The Lost Atlantis," "The Average Man," "Ultimate America, Whither are We Drifting, and What Will Be Our Destiny?" "The Newspaper of Today," and "Evolution as a Theory."

While the program of 1893 gave cause for concern about the future of the Florida Chautauqua, the 1895 program represented an increasingly strong and vital assembly. The 1895 session also was something of a turning point in the thrust and mission of the assembly. Both in formal classwork and general sessions, this assembly placed a greater emphasis on education, formal and informal, with an increased interest in entertainments, and a concomitant decrease in religious activities. This was a fundamental re-definition of what kind of goods would be prized. The shift was essentially an economic decision. Greater interest in education and entertainment meant increased gate receipts. The Chautauqua was able to adapt to the shifting cultural scene in Northwest Florida. There was less interest in religion and more interest in education and entertainments. Over the next ten years, this shift was solidified and the Florida Chautauqua experienced its greatest period.

1896
February 20 - March 18
Twelfth Session

The twelfth annual session of the Florida Chautauqua opened on February 20, and ran through March 18. The printed program followed much of the same format seen in previous years, although expanded to sixteen pages. The difference in size is due to several lengthy articles as well as an increase in advertising space.

A long article at the beginning of the entire program, "A Chautauqua in the Wilds of Western Florida: An Historical Sketch," was written by General George B. Loud and originally published in the June 1895 issue of *Home and Country*. In a manner similar to opening materials in the previous programs, this article's apparent purpose was to create a favorable text for the first-time reader or to reinforce, as a sequel, the textual elements of the Florida Chautauqua already familiar to the return reader. The article completely fills three pages of the program.

As its subtitle suggests, the article is a historical sketch combined with a strong dose of advertising. Drawing from the natural setting (and repeatedly referring to the assembly site and De Funiak Springs as "a veritable garden of the gods") and from the past presentations, the article presented a detailed picture of the Florida Chautauqua. A major group targeted by the article were those individuals who resided in the Northern tier of states. Frequent reminders of the "sunny South" as well as notations such as "How delightful to leave the snow banks of the North, and in 36 hours find yourself midst the flowers and blossoms of

opening spring" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1896, 11) enticed the reader to construct an experience and environment that placed greater value on traveling to De Funiak Springs than enduring the hardships of the winter. The emphasis on the natural setting was a recurring theme in the writings that presented the Florida Chautauqua and constitute a significant element of the cultural performance of the Florida Chautauqua.

Often almost poetical in nature, these descriptions frequently introduced the reader to the Florida Chautauqua, preparing the way for the presentation of the educational and social aspects of the assembly. This article does not differ from that approach, using lengthy discussion and descriptions to present an institution in an almost Edenic setting.

When its elevation, sandy loam soil, absolutely pure water –than which none purer ever gushed from rocks or bubbled like lyrics and idylls from the soil—and sweetly scented breezes laden with the aroma of pine and magnolia are taken into consideration, its advantages as a health resort and winter retreat can be readily understood (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1896, 4).

Purity of water would be a primary concern in a country which did not yet have a widely consistent delivery of potable water and in an area where malaria outbreaks were still common. The reader was also led to dismiss the notion of a harsh wilderness associated with the unsettled panhandle region.

The reader may readily have grasped the natural benefits and easily created a textual representation of the Florida Chautauqua upon completion of the reading. Once the natural advantages were established and, presumably, the reader more amenable to further

knowledge, the writing began to present the educational and social benefits of the Florida Chautauqua.

In this article the writer began the educational presentation by taking great pains to associate the Florida assembly with the original Chautauqua in New York. "Chautauqua! I doubt if any other one institution has done so much to stimulate thought and cultivate a desire for higher and better civilization. What other institution with as high a purpose is so far-reaching in results?" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1896, 4). The writer linked the effects of the New York institution to the possible effects of the Florida Chautauqua, stressing again the great advantages of education, a theme heard regularly throughout the programs and printed matter for the Chautauqua.

No one can fail to appreciate the advantages to be derived by a few weeks' sojourn amid such surroundings. To the educated person it will serve as a polish to faculties grown rusty perhaps through disuse. To those whose early education has been neglected and who during the struggles and turmoil of every-day life are debarred from making up in later years for the deprivation of youth, Chautauqua—and I mention it now in its broad sense—is a rapid, a comprehensive teacher. New avenues of thought are opened up, new methods of self-instruction are suggested, and in a few weeks stores of knowledge are gathered in which otherwise would have required years of patient study in books (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1896, 5).

Not only could one get education but one could achieve it in a relatively short amount of time, thus providing the attendee with two benefits simultaneously. This paragraph makes it clear that education was a good to be highly prized and one to be attained despite the cost.

This strong argument that the educational aspects of the Chautauqua movement were valid for all persons emphasizes the importance of attending. The assembly held value for all. If the

program could succeed in getting the reader to create a personal text with value in both the natural and educational aspects of the Florida Chautauqua, the reader was more likely to expend the goods needed to attend the assembly. If the promoters were unsuccessful in marketing these goods, there was little promise of economic success.

This opening article is important in the establishment of that text. The article presented material routinely included in Chautauqua materials, but the difference with this article is the appearance of outside legitimacy. The article was a reprint from a national magazine, by a writer not directly linked to the management of the assembly. The article helped establish credibility for the session. An additional article, placed on page twelve, repeated the article from the 1895 program and reinforced the ideas presented earlier in the printed program.

The content of the 1896 session was similar to the 1895 assembly. As was common, the coursework did change from year to year depending on the availability of personnel. Music was a standard department offered again in 1896. Still under the direction of Dr. H. R. Palmer, three classes were offered: Chorus, Sight-reading, and Harmony. China painting and Kintergarten were also offered. "Physical Education: Literature, Elocution and Aesthetics" combined old offerings with new ones. The department offered Physical Education with a focus on gymnastics, starting with general exercise and leading into apparatus work. Also a part of this department was "Literature, Rhetoric and Elocution" that had as its goals

[t]he acquisition of an elegant and refined Pronunciation and of absolutely distinct Utterance. A flexible and melodious voice and *natural results* in reading and speaking, the development of the

sensibilities, whereby correct, instant and vigorous emotional expression comes in response to thought (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1896, 6).

The area of Aesthetics sought to “develop lovers of art and the ability to understand some of the lessons of civilization embodied in the World’s art” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1896, 7).

Other departments offering coursework included the Children’s Hour, Primary Teachers’ Class, Art Needle Work and Embroidery, the Devotional Hour, Lectures on Christian Evidences, and C.L.S.C. Round Tables. A new and particularly interesting department for 1896 was the Woman’s Club. Led by Mrs. M. C. Hickman from Cleveland, Ohio, the club, according to the program, “will be gladly welcomed by the good women of to-day, who are interesting themselves in great questions and who are preparing themselves to have large share in the world’s work” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1896, 7). Many of the departments, including the new Women’s Club, held more interest for women than men. Since women would have probably been more available to attend daytime sessions, these courses would have more commercial promise than other coursework aimed at men.

The performance text for this session was similar to the 1895 session. As in that year, there appears to be a primary interest in the program in lectures presented on widely varying topics. Speakers presented attendees with such topics as “The Labor Problem,” “The New Aristocracy,” “Modern Science and Immortality,” “The Sanctity of Marriage,” “Possibilities of Electricity,” and an apparently humorous presentation, “The Joys and Sorrows of an Amato Fotygraffer.” The

trend of increasing entertainments continued in the 1896 session as well.

**1897
February 18 - March 17
Thirteenth Session**

The printed program for the 1897 session had a goal similar to the other printed materials from past assemblies: a written text that would entice the reader to attend the assembly. To this end, the program again used verbiage which bordered on hyperbole. The promoters attempted to create a desirable experience on several fronts, including location, content of the experience, and social life. While the length of the assembly was consistent with past sessions, the content of the program showed strength through a variety of lecturers and entertainers.

Much of the front matter of the program is consistent with past programs. A new section entitled "How to Reach It" extols the benefits of the location: "One day you leave the snow banks and biting winter of the North; the next day you are in 'The Land of Flowers.' In February you find the peach and the pear trees all in bloom and the thermometer somewhere between seventy and eighty" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1897, 4). The social life described in "Splendid Fellowship," revealed that many families from the North built "palatial" homes in De Funiak Springs and that they enjoyed nearly constant entertainment.

The front matter in a section entitled "The Chautauqua" summarized the benefit of attending the Chautauqua.

The program is as attractive as can be found anywhere else. School advantages for those who wish to study; delightful lectures, entertainments, concerts for those who want to be

entertained and mix a little intellectual uplift with their vacation. Time does not hang heavy at this splendid winter resort. . . . The social life is charming beyond description (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1897, 5).

All of these descriptions (which appear before the actual program is even addressed) served to textualize the Florida Chautauqua and create interest in the reader. The organizers of the Florida Chautauqua and the publishers of the program placed more value on creating a specific aura about the assembly, apparently to attract customers, than on the actual program content.

The course work offered in the 1897 session was similar to previous assemblies, with the exception of several new offerings. The music department, again under the direction of Dr. H. R. Palmer, included instruction in Chorus Class, Sight Reading class, and Harmony class. Two departments represented the area of art, china painting and art needle work and embroidery. Two departments catered specifically to the needs of children who attended with their parents. The Kindergarten cared for children and also ran a Normal class for teachers. The Children's Hour met daily for ten days, covering topics such as The Lord's Prayer, The Lost Sheep, The Prodigal Son, and The Wise and Foolish Virgins.

The session also offered a Physical Culture course. "The Special features of the work will be a course in Delsarte, Swedish work and Eclectic Gymnastics, for ladies, misses and children" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1897, 8). The course also emphasized breathing exercises for control of the body with advanced work in Delsarte Drills, Marches, and Statue Posing.

For a second year the assembly included the Woman's Club. The course was not, apparently, a women's suffrage class as might first be expected, since "questions of art will have large place in the discussions" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1897, 9). The club met daily for one week.

The Recitals and Elocution department was under the direction of Prof. E. B. Warman of Chicago. This year's program showed no specific plans for a class in elocution, unless interest justified having one. The program advertised Warman performing three morning entertainments, or studies, during the session.

Other standard courses included Biblical Study, C.L.S.C. Round Tables, Devotional Hour, and Primary Teachers' Class. These twelve departments comprised one of the largest course offerings of any Florida assembly to this point in time.

An analysis of the performance text reveals subtle shifts in the program. A decrease in the number of lectures of a religious nature was the only change in the religious content of the assembly. Sunday activities were consistent with previous years. One of the largest attractions at the 1897 session was the appearance of Dr. Thomas DeWitt Talmage. The program designates February 20 "Talmage Day." In discussing the talent for the 1897 session, the editors observe, "How we have waited and longed for Talmage, the best known preacher in the world and the highest-priced lecturer on the American platform" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1897, 18). Talmage lectured on "The Bright Side of Things" for the 3:00 p.m. session on Saturday, February 20, and delivered the morning sermon the next day. At this time, Talmage was

pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Washington, D. C. His sermons were reprinted each Sunday in more than 3,500 newspapers across the United States and Europe ("Thomas DeWitt Talmage," *The Christian Connection*, online).

This program included a significant increase in the number of activities of a musical nature. Thirteen concerts and recitals appeared on the schedule. At least five of the concerts were "Grand Concerts" featuring several of the groups and soloists at the assembly. Speech entertainments also increased with this assembly. Readings and Impersonations were popular, including Edwin L. Barker's presentation of *David Copperfield*, with Barker "faithfully assuming all the characters." Other speech entertainments included tableaux and readings by E. B. Warman. R. W. Burton presented readings in which he interpreted life among the colored people.

Educational lectures were still very popular in this assembly. Topics included "Relationships," "Politeness," "Socialistic Tendencies," "Boys and Girls, Naughty and Nice, or the Pendulum of Life," "The Old Time Georgia Darkey," and "Social Forces." A special lecture on Temperance was delivered by Col. George W. Bain entitled "The Safe Side of Life for Young Men."

With the 1897 session the Florida Chautauqua continued to strengthen in content and number of performers and lecturers. The shift toward entertainment was now firmly established. The trend towards entertainment must have been affirmed by those in attendance. The management responded to the economic potential of entertainment venues. As the United States approached the turn of the century, topics

in general education and religion were less desired (and hence less commercially successful) than entertainment. The cultural situation was slowly changing and the Florida Chautauqua was still able to offer goods in a format acceptable to the people.

Education and Entertainment in Northwest Florida through 1897

As the Florida Chautauqua was establishing itself and holding sessions each February and March, education and entertainment opportunities were expanding for the residents of the Northwest Florida panhandle. Pensacola, Florida, seventy miles west of De Funiak Springs in Escambia county, was the closest metropolitan area. Santa Rosa and Walton counties (De Funiak Springs is located in Walton county) were adjacent to the east. The first public schools in Pensacola preceded the Florida Chautauqua. Six schools offering three months of instruction were opened in the years immediately following the Civil War. Only 225 out of more than 2,100 children ages 4 through 21 attended the one-room schools, which met in rented buildings. The first permanent building was built in 1875 (Ellsworth, 86).

By 1880 Escambia County had twenty-nine public free schools, with no increase through 1883. Walton county had twenty-six schools, with no increase during the same period. Santa Rosa county, on the other hand, saw public free schools increase from thirty-two to forty-two schools (Chipley, *Facts*, 27). By 1895 the number of schools and enrollment increased significantly as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1 - Schools and Enrollments for Panhandle counties —1895
(Sheats, 317)

1895	# of Schools			Children			Enrollment		
County	Total	White	Negro	6-21	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro
Escambia	63	41	22	5,884	3,569	2,315	4,256	2,682	1,574
Santa Rosa	66	58	8	3,205	2,333	872	2,310	1,829	481
Walton	60	54	6	2,468	2,148	320	1,885	1,666	219

By the time the Florida Chautauqua finished this period, free public education was much more commonplace than it had been during the late 1870s and early 1880s.

Cultural activities (primarily theater) also enjoyed increasing popularity during this period, primarily in Pensacola. Pensacola had the first playhouse in Florida; theater activity there predated the rest of Florida by almost twenty years (Bilbo, 22). In 1868, following the Civil War, Stephen Mallory, the former Confederate Secretary of the Navy, formed the Pensacola Dramatic Association (Bilbo, 25-26). D. G. Brent, a local businessman, remodeled a building to open the Tarragona Theater in 1872. The theater operated until 1881 (Clubs, 384).

The center of theatrical activity was the Pensacola Opera House, which opened in 1883. The opera house could seat 1,400 and advertised a full complement of stage machinery. After the first performance in January, 1883, there were regular performances by a variety of troupes and individuals. Generally, they played one or two nights with a new attraction on the average of every two weeks (Bagley, 66-71). Between 1882 and 1892 there were approximately 562

entertainments presented at the opera house. Of those, 338 were dramatic productions, ninety-nine were musical entertainments (minstrel shows and various operatic performances), and 125 were lyceum and variety entertainments (Bagley, 81).

Charles H. Bliss, in an article in *Bliss' Quarterly* entitled "Pensacola's Social Features," summarized the cultural scene as the panhandle's major population center approached the turn of the century:

Society is equal to the best and social organizations are so very numerous that it is impossible to give each the notice that it deserves. There are reading circles, and societies, pleasant hour clubs, helping hand societies, fishing, boating, and gunning clubs, daughters of the King, the King's daughters, Epworth league, and scores of others too numerous to mention (75).

The theatres, clubs, and social /cultural activities would complement the exposure individuals received at the Florida Chautauqua. It is difficult to determine whether one source significantly impacted the other. It is more likely that there was a mutually beneficial relationship.

Pensacolians attending the Florida Chautauqua would potentially have varying degrees of cultural competency allowing them to more easily appropriate the goods of the Florida Chautauqua. Conversely, the exposure of the Florida Chautauqua would help equip them to appropriate even more goods back in the Pensacola marketplace. As both venues increased their goods, the overall competence of the attendees would improve. Improvement in cultural disposition provided by the changing cultural situation in Northwest Florida would translate to more goods being "sold" at the Florida Chautauqua provided the

management correctly identified and offered the goods the public desired.

Conclusion

When the 1897 session concluded, the initial phase in the development of the Florida Chautauqua also came to a conclusion. One may make a strong argument that the early chapters of this text presented a religious and educational text. Major emphasis in program content was in these two areas, and although it was supplemented by entertainment, the program has remained true to these themes.

In the initial phase of the Florida Chautauqua promoters attempted to develop a need for specific cultural goods in the general populace. Initially, those in the Northwest Florida marketplace did not recognize the benefits of the religious and educational opportunities available to them or did not perceive that their investment of time and money would yield significant dividends. The spotty reports of attendance do seem to indicate that the latter years of this period saw that trend changing as attendance increased and as many as 3,000 individuals from along the rail line stretching east to west from River Junction to Pensacola came for special events.

The lack of entertainment initially and its slow rise in importance indicate that this was still a culture that prized religious training and general education over 'superfluous' entertainments. The strong religious influence may have precipitated the participation in many activities such as theater which church leaders would have labeled as 'worldly.' Equally important, however, is the fact that in the current state much of the populace would have been culturally naive and unable to

appropriate the goods without significant education. The general education would have been an important step towards creating competent individuals with the disposition and capability of appropriating the goods. The evidence indicates that as time passed attendees became more disposed to appropriate entertainment goods and the Florida Chautauqua successfully marketed to these needs.

However, another strong theme is evident in these early programs—the theme of commerciality. The Florida Chautauqua is not just about educational, religious, or even entertainment opportunities for the attendee, but also about business for the management. Repeatedly the program content demonstrated the attempt to create a cultural need and the ability to satisfy that need through the Florida Chautauqua. The primary purpose of the programs and papers was to market the assembly. The inclusion and expansion of advertising space also points to this goal of economic success. Despite the fact that the assembly lost money through at least its first decade of operation, there must have been some rewards which kept the institution in operation. The town of De Funiak Springs may have been the most significant benefactor, growing from a side stop on the rail line to a town with a population exceeding eight hundred by the end of this period. The Chautauqua succeeded in attracting individuals to build and settle in the region. The increasing attendance held promise for future profits from the assembly itself.

W. D. Chipley's railroad had a significant economic interest in the success of the Florida Chautauqua; each program included advertisements for inexpensive transportation to this wilderness area. It

is not unlikely that the realization of this economic need was central to Chipley's involvement with the assembly. The increasing emphasis on commerciality was also evident in the program in the increase in local business advertising. As the town of De Funiak Springs grew, so did the amount of advertising in the yearly programs. While the printed program still contains a significant amount of national advertising, the local flavor was more evident as the end of this period approached. The theme of commerciality as it pertains to an understanding of the Florida Chautauqua as text took on more significance in future assemblies.

The performance text of the initial period was fairly standardized. Coursework was a primary feature, as were religious events. The formal structure of the Florida Chautauqua highlighted these two elements. The performance text changed little throughout the first twelve years. Emphasis did shift from featuring religion in the early years to stressing education, although neither element was far from the other during this phase. Entertainment, always present, was beginning to influence the performance text more as this period ended.

On a broader scale, the first period of the Florida Chautauqua presented a strong cultural text. The expanding town and populace was important to the development of this element of the assembly. The cultural performance text received great emphasis in the printed programs, highlighting its importance to the overall success of the institution. No matter how good the performance text might be, it needed the strong influence of the town, townspeople, institution buildings, and attendees to fully realize the Chautauqua potential.

With the assembly's initial phase behind it, the Florida Chautauqua poised to begin a new period of growth and change. Which cultural goods would be deemed desirable and would receive attention would be under constant evaluation. The performance text and cultural text were about to be revised as program length and content, and surroundings changed.

CHAPTER 4

The Great Winter Chautauqua of the South: Shifting Themes and Expansion of the Text, 1898-1906

As the turn of the century approached, the management of the Florida Chautauqua closely examined the potential of their assembly and the changing desires of their public. Although the assembly had weathered its early years and was now firmly established, it was still minor in comparison with the Mother Chautauqua. The foundational years had written clear volumes on religion and education, but now it was time to expand the reach and economic impact of the institution. The management decided that the way to develop was to focus on a new theme: entertainment. The cultural goods made available through the assembly represented an acknowledgment of the changing cultural literacy of the constituency. Attendees prized entertainment goods more than religious or educational goods as their competency in these areas changed. The printed programs would still need to work on creating or enhancing the potential attendees' disposition towards those goods, a job perhaps eased by the increase in local opportunities for entertainment and education.

Commercial desires slowly became more obvious at the Florida Chautauqua as emphasis shifted from religion and education to

entertainment. During the coming decade the Florida Chautauqua expanded from four weeks to nine weeks in duration, a period matched only by the original assembly and a feat which would allow the assembly to proclaim in the 1906 program that it was the “great winter Chautauqua of the South.”

**1898
February 17 - March 23
Fourteenth Session**

The lengthening of the Florida assembly was the most significant feature of the 1898 session. For the first time, the management scheduled the assembly for a full five weeks, indicating that the previous year or two had been successful and held enough economic promise to venture capital outlay for a longer assembly. Writers of the printed program stressed that even with the increased length of time, the cost of tickets would not increase. Those in attendance would receive more goods for their money.

The front matter for the 1898 program copied the 1897 program nearly word for word. Opening descriptions of the Chautauqua, the location, accommodations, and fellowship followed trends from previous years. The first departure in content was a notice of Colonel W. D. Chipley's death. Chipley, an original founder of the Florida Chautauqua in De Funiak Springs, had died during the preceding year. The notice lamented his loss, acknowledging that “[t]o his keen foresight, contagious enthusiasm, and inspiring generosity, De Funiak and her Chautauqua owes everything” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1898, 5). The management planned a memorial service for the first Sunday of the assembly.

With the extension of the time for the 1898 assembly came an expansion in course offerings. Course offerings in Corrective Reading, Point Lace, Woman's Club, and Domestic Science supplemented the standard offerings of Music (with courses in voice culture, sight reading, and harmony), Art, Kindergarten, Sunday School Normal, and C.L.S.C.

The Corrective Reading course offered in addition to the Physical Training and Elocution course and taught by Miss Crnelia Adele Teal of Brooklyn, New York, utilized the Rational Method of Reading. The course was to include "exercises in correct poise and development of vocal organs, preliminary for clear enunciation for reading aloud and public speaking. Special attention will be given to pronunciation of words in common use. Use of synonyms and antonyms with reference to composition" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1898, 9).

The Woman's Club was a department continued from the previous year. For the 1898 session, the club lengthened its schedule from one week to several weeks. The local Methodist Episcopal church provided the club with its daily meeting place. The club's purpose, again focused on "noble women who are interesting themselves in great questions and who are preparing themselves to have a large share in the world's work" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1898, 8), featured addresses by Mrs. Judge Nelson, known for her temperance work in the east, and Mrs. Judge Turnkey, who was to speak about interesting phases of missions work.

Two other classes appeared to be specifically targeted toward women: the School of Point Lace and the School of Domestic Science.

The point lace needle work class was a new offering, although related topics in needlework had been offered in the past. The Domestic Science class mirrors the first session's school of cookery. The instructor was a graduate of the Boston Cooking School with "nine year's [sic] experience teaching in this science" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1898, 10). The emphasis was on the "science" of cooking. The two-week class featured lectures with demonstrations. Since women were still largely not a part of the work force, they would be likely candidates to have time to invest in this line of classwork. The program does not indicate that there were classes for men only.

The analysis of the 1898 program reinforces the observations made beginning with the 1897 program, namely that the performance text shifts from a strong religious nature to a more entertainment-oriented focus. The assembly reached several important milestones in entertainment with the 1898 session. First was the use of the cineograph and moving pictures. Mr. A. C. Coit of Bedford, Ohio, brought the cineograph "with its wonderful moving pictures, the greatest invention of the age" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1898, 12). Second, the gramophone received heavy usage throughout the program, often incorporated into the concerts. The program indicates that the attendees of the session had great interest in the gramophone. A note under "Entertainments and Illustrated Lectures" observed that "the wonderful Gramophone, the best talking machine yet made, will be used frequently" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1898, 12). Third, was the use of burlesque entertainment. A March 10 performance featured the Grand Burlesque Entertainment "The Knights of the Zorasters," touted

as “1000 laughs. \$5 worth of laughs for 25 cents” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1898, 18). These changes represent the Chautauqua promoters’ intent to adjust to current trends and to provide a specific class of cultural goods which held promise of economic reward.

In addition to these innovations, there was a continued increase in emphasis on the musical and speech entertainments. Concerts and recitals occurred once or twice daily (sometimes more frequently). The assembly included an increase in musical preludes before other scheduled activities. The program showcased numerous “grand” concerts and a series of piano recitals. Many of the grand concerts featured a mixture of entertainments such as Rogers’ Goshen Band joined by several musical soloists and readers. One activity, labeled “Extraordinary Entertainment,” featured a magician, “marvelous whistling” and imitations, a child violinist, a male soprano, and a humorous impersonator.

While these entertainments were not formal educational ventures like the coursework, they served to educate the audience through experiential contact. This form of repeated contact was important in helping the individual master the tools necessary for cultural competence without having to be exposed to formal instruction. Bourdieu speaks of the individual’s unconsciously absorbing the rules of art by repeated contact with the art. Attendance at concerts and recitals contributed to the consumer’s appropriation of cultural competence.

The remaining content of the program changed little, including approximately nine travelogue-type programs. The program still placed

an emphasis on the educational lecture, featuring such topics as "Brains vs Brawn," "Life and Shadows of Home and Marriage," "How to Win," "Freaks, Fools, and Facts," and "Individuality."

One interesting feature of the lectures was a series on physical education. Presented by Prof. E. B. Warman, the topics included "Colors most conducive to health, hints on eating and drinking, exercises of the flexibility of the joints," "Hints on bathing, breathing, bicycling, care of the teeth," and "How to get Well and keep well; How fat people may become lean; how lean people may become fat." The continuation of these types of lectures is an indication of their economic viability. The lectures were still a commodity in demand on which consumers were willing to expend capital. There still was no mass media vehicle outside of local newspapers capable of disseminating even basic educational material (like personal hygiene) to an extended audience. The Chautauqua was able to create a desire for this material and meet this need.

Special programs included a three-day missionary convocation and several days with the Woodmen of the World. This session also included several informal receptions at the Hotel Chautauqua.

In general, the session of 1898 retained characteristics of earlier assemblies, with the exception of the lengthening of the program. This increased length suggests that the sessions were more successful — success being measured in economic terms. The printed program boasted that "more than one hundred persons are employed on our program this year to furnish us pleasure and profit" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1898, 12).

The subtle shifts in the textual nature of the Florida Chautauqua identified in the 1897 program were continued in the 1898 program. There was an increased emphasis on pleasurable activities: more musical entertainers, readers, impersonators, and other entertainments than lecturers (which includes religious sermons and topics). The program throughout prominently featured and advertised the technological wonders of the gramophone ("the best talking machine yet made") and the cineograph's moving pictures. While Sunday observances did not diminish, still included Sunday school, morning sermon, vespers, song service, and evening sermon, there was a decline in other sessions of a religious or biblical nature. There also was an increase in activities and topics related to women. While there is nothing besides the program to confirm this conclusion, it would seem logical that women comprised a primary component of the population served by the assembly and that the planners increased activities aimed at women to help increase attendance and earnings.

**1899
February 15 - March 28
Fifteenth Session**

The 1899 session demonstrated both continuity and change in the textual structure of the Florida Chautauqua. The continuity was demonstrated by the printed program's (and hence the sponsors') sustained use of description to create a desirable experience for the readers. The front matter for the printed program departed initially from the pattern used for the 1897 and 1898 programs, although it had similarities to the program of 1896. The opening page extolled the

virtues of the physical setting for the Chautauqua, with little regard to the actual assembly content.

While this approach had been used in many of the programs, the 1899 session utilized different descriptors, calling De Funiak Springs, for example, “the popular Health Resort of Western Florida” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1899, 3). The lake at De Funiak Springs, always a popular selling point, received a description of even greater breadth and magnitude than in previous years.

Visitors from *all parts of the world* pronounce it one of the marked features of our Continent, for nowhere else between the Atlantic and the Pacific, or indeed *in any part of the world* has this gem of a lake an equal in symmetry and ideal perfection. It is in truth *one of the world's wonders* (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1899, 3, emphasis added).

The description continues, employing a deviation on the standard title “Adirondacks of Western Florida,” shortening it to “Western Adirondacks” to invoke familiar images of scenery. For the first time the printed materials described De Funiak Springs as “A Little Venice” because of its “fairy parks, miniature lakes, tumbling cascades, waterfalls and fountains” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1899, 3). The description concluded with the proclamation, “No other place offers such advantages to seekers after health, pleasure and entertainment” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1899, 3).

These grand claims and descriptions coalesced to create a physical text of great desirability for the reader. Although no exact date can be determined, it is probable that these programs were mailed during the late fall or early winter months leading up to the February assembly. With numerous advertisers and potential attendees in the

north, a significant portion of the mailing would have been sent to the northern tier of states and colder climes. The goal of the program was not unlike much contemporary advertising which promotes the advantages of vacations in the "sunshine state" to snowbound and cold-weary northern residents who eagerly snatch up vacations to Florida just to escape the numbing cold. If the promoters of the Florida Chautauqua could get their potential constituents to create a desirable physical text, there would be a greater probability that they would attend the session with less of a concern for the assembly's content.

The front matter of the program continued in a similar fashion to previous programs after the initial description, with several conspicuous differences. The first came under the heading "The Chautauqua." For the first time, the management scheduled the session to meet for six weeks. In 1898 the session had been five weeks long, and up to that point, the assembly had generally met for only three to four weeks. This section also proclaimed that "the great mother Chautauqua has no fairer daughter in all the land than De Funiak" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1899, 4). This may have been an attempt to down play the appearance of other assemblies throughout the country, particularly in the north. The promoters assured the readers that "the programme [sic] . . . responds to the taste of a cultured people in presenting the best scholarship of the times" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1899, 4).

The other section that provides interesting insights into the changing nature of the Florida assembly, titled "Excursions," described two interesting types of excursions. The first excursions brought guests by rail (as many as three thousand on any one Saturday) to visit the De

Funiak Springs grounds. Excursion trains ran along the line from Pensacola in the west and River Junction in the east. For the excursions the Saturday program was “especially interesting and attractive” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1899, 5). The printed program appeared to imply that these excursions had occurred in the past, although there is no record of them in previous programs.

The apparent success of the Saturday excursions indicates that the promoters had succeeded in designing a program and promoting it in such a way that they successfully created a desire for cultural goods in the Northwest Florida panhandle and demonstrated that the excursions would satisfy that desire. The Saturday programs were designed to provide more activities than a typical weekday would schedule. Saturdays did not include coursework and the emphasis was on entertainment-oriented sessions.

Besides exposing large numbers of people to a variety of cultural goods, the excursions also had a strong commercial flavor. The rail line would benefit financially, since it was the primary means of accessing the Florida Chautauqua. Round trip tickets were fifty cents with some individuals coming from as far as one-hundred miles away. By comparison a normal L & N round trip ticket from Pensacola (seventy miles away) was \$3.53 (including 35¢ admission charge). Even with the reduced fare, the line would potentially bring in close to \$1,500.00 each of the six Saturdays if attendance remained high. In addition, the Florida Chautauqua charged each excursionist a one-day ticket of 35¢. By making the Florida Chautauqua and its goods more readily available to a larger community, not only did the community

increase in cultural competence, but the institution became more economically successful.

The second type of excursions, new to the program in 1899, involved excursions away from the Chautauqua grounds. Each Wednesday during the 1899 session was set aside for attendees to visit the surrounding environs. These excursions included visits to Euchee Anna and Knox Hill in Walton County, home to the original Scots settlers; Ponce de Leon; Lake Cassidy; and Mariana.

While the length of the assembly increased, the class work offerings decreased. The 1899 session included only six standard departments of class work: Music, Physical Training and Elocution, Art, C.L.S.C. Round Tables, Kindergarten, and the religious department Sunday School, Normal and Bible Study. These offerings contradict previous inferences, specifically that the offerings for women were expanding. The Woman's club, offered in 1897 and 1898, was absent from the 1899 session, as were offerings in point lace and domestic science from the 1898 session.

The decrease in class offerings with a concomitant increase in session length leads to an examination of the performance text. What occupied the time of those in attendance if they were not in classes? Outside of the daily Biblical/Devotional hour common in many of the previous sessions, there was no increase in religious activities. In fact, this session continued a decrease of activities in that area, with fewer lectures and presentations of a religious nature. The largest increase in activity came in the area of entertainments, primarily musical entertainments.

During the six-week session the assembly scheduled more than forty musical events, including piano recitals, promenade concerts, and almost daily band concerts by Rogers' Orchestra (formerly Rogers' Goshen Band). Featured performers included Dr. Henry G. Hanchett, musical director and presenter of a series of analytical recitals, Rogers' Orchestra, the Ariel Sextette, and the Indiana Glee and Mandolin Club.

While fewer in number than the purely musical presentations, this session also included a significant number of speech presentations and mixed entertainments. Readers and Impersonators included Addie Chase Smith, Edwin L. Barker, Charles F. Craig, Edmund Vance Cooke, and Lydia C. Wilkins. Often the readers were combined with the musical portion for the presentation of "grand concerts."

The category used to describe "mixed entertainments" previously referred to those entertainments which incorporated both speech and music, but with the inclusion of other mediums the category covers a wider gamut of activities. Specifically, the category now documents the inclusion of such inventions as the gramophone, still popular at this session, and the celeroscope, a device used to show moving pictures.

In addition to these easily identifiable entertainments, another category was emerging in the Chautauqua program: that of Lecturer/Entertainer. The 1899 program included several individuals whose presentations do not qualify them for the standard title of lecturer but who equally cannot be classified purely as entertainers. This session included John W. Sanborn with pictures of Indian customs, J. Perry Worden with a presentation on Delft Ware, and George Little, a renowned crayon artist. These presentations and others like them add

to the entertainment characteristic taking shape at the Florida Chautauqua during the last part of the 1890's.

The 1899 session presented the strongest argument for and clearest picture of the changing textual nature of the Florida Chautauqua. The trend, first evident during the 1897 sessions, was now a more standard characteristic of the De Funiak assembly. The earlier claims for the religious nature of the assembly seen in the initial sessions have disappeared from the printed program, with less emphasis placed on the educational value of the assembly, and more emphasis evident on the pleasurable nature of the gathering.

**1900
February 14 - March 27
Sixteenth Session**

In many ways the session of 1900 mimics the session of 1899. The length remains at six weeks instead of increasing again as it had done for the 1898 and 1899 sessions. As the assembly prepared to celebrate its sixteenth anniversary, the opening paragraph of the printed program reported that

Alabama and Georgia are becoming closer Chautauqua neighbors . . . and not only help to swell the great Saturday Excursions but also furnish many visitors who come to enjoy continuous weeks of profitable entertainment. . . . The programme [sic] for the sixteenth season responds to the taste of a cultured people in representing the best scholarship of the times (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1900, 1).

The institution saw itself as a cultural organization meeting the needs of a cultured audience. More significant was the implication from the above statement that for the first time the Florida Chautauqua saw itself as offering cultural goods in response to the desires of consumers

instead of determining to which cultural goods the consumer should be exposed. The Florida Chautauqua was no longer the arbiter of culture but the facilitator of consumer desire. Instead of deciding what to offer, the management based decisions on the desires of the audience.

The 1900 session also followed the 1899 session in terms of course work offered. A reduction of the number of courses offered in earlier years of the assembly was evident. This session retained Music, Art, Kindergarten, Physical Culture and Elocution, and the Devotional hour from the last session, but not the C.L.S.C. Round Tables. The 1900 session did add coursework in Art Needlework and Tapestry Painting and a Children's Hour.

A significant difference in the 1900 session over all previous sessions was the lack of Normal or teacher training. Since its inception the work of the Florida Chautauqua and the training of teachers for both public schools and Sunday schools had been closely intertwined. The Florida State Normal School had held session in De Funiak Springs since 1885, often combining its sessions or offering courses during the February/March gathering. With the 1900 session the only Normal class still included in the program was for Sunday School, and even it was combined with other religious topics and billed as "Sunday School, Normal and Bible Study." One may feasibly conclude that with the turn of the century, changes in public education and the growth of the State Normal School (Florida teachers could attend free of charge, others paid \$5 per month) made it either unprofitable or undesirable to include Normal training in the regular assembly program.

The assembly showed continued interest in entertainments. This session featured almost forty different musical entertainments, including daily band concerts and promenade concerts by Rogers' Orchestra, piano recitals, and analytical recitals by the chorus director. The analysis reveals a significant increase in the number of mixed entertainments, those entertainments which utilized several mediums including speech, music, moving pictures, tableaux, and illustrated lectures. Edison's Projectiscope provided moving pictures on several nights. Almost thirty entertainers, including musicians, readers and impersonators, and illustrated lecturers, provided the entertainments.

Educational lectures were still very popular, although it appears the management offered fewer in the evening. Lecturers presented at least thirty different lectures over the six-week time span. Topics covered an expansive array of subjects, including "Washington, or True Greatness," "Birds and Their Ways," "The New Era in Education," "The Wit and Wisdom of the Crayon," "The Sabbath and American Civilization," and "The Unknown Quantities in the Problems of Life." Several of these appear to border on entertainment and included preludes, solos, illustrations, and even a magician and ventriloquist.

The session of 1900 continued to solidify the movement of the Florida Assembly away from the religious topics and educational motives observed during the formative years of the assembly and toward the entertainment end of the spectrum. While the Sunday activities remained virtually unchanged, and a daily devotional hour was still held, fewer other activities were obviously religious in nature. The class work also appears to have assumed a less important role in

the assembly. All of the changes were responses to “the taste of a cultured people” but more importantly meant greater economic reward for the management.

**1902
February 12 - April 3
Eighteenth Session**

The success of the Florida Chautauqua was evident in the 1902 session with the lengthening of the assembly to seven weeks. The assembly nearly doubled its length from the original four weeks and, in addition, included a subtle, yet significant, shift in the textual nature of the Florida Chautauqua as presented in the printed program.

Whereas previous printed programs generally began by touting the advantages of De Funiak Springs as a location or by stating the educational advantages of the assembly, the 1902 program immediately highlighted the entertainment aspect of the gathering. The first two lines read: “Seven weeks of superb attractions await the visitors of the Florida Chautauqua. Over one hundred and fifty entertainments, representing the finest talent of the country, have been secured for the eighteenth year of the assembly” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1902, 1). The program went on to note that this session’s “diversified and carefully arranged programme [sic] responds to the taste of a cultured people” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1902, 1). This shift in emphasis for the Florida Chautauqua text confirms the trend observed in the content of previous years’ programs toward entertainment and away from religion and education with the people (specifically cultured people) determining which goods the assembly should offer. This emphasis on leisure and entertainment was

demonstrated again later in the program under the heading "Pastimes and Sports": claims that the lake provided opportunity for sailing or rowing, and a new tennis court and croquet ground had been laid out near the Hotel Chautauqua. Every afternoon an orchestra provided music in the hotel.

The listing of Chautauqua personnel employed for the 1902 session confirms this shift in the text. More than two full pages list and described the personnel involved in entertainment. Categories are "Musical Roll," "Readers and Impersonators," and "Illustrated Lectures and Entertainments." Less than one page covered "Lecture Platform," which included those who gave the sermons. While the program offered little information concerning the lecturers besides their home towns, the program added a brief description to nearly every entertainer. A sample of these descriptions included "The Pontiacs (Bloomington, Ill.), The Popular Male Quartette, Entertaining and Artistic Singers," "Ellsworth Plumstead (Detroit, Mich.), The Famous Character Delineator and Impersonator. A Royal Entertainer," "Emily Lindsay Squier (Terre Haute, Ind.), Greatest Child Impersonator in America. Only 8 years old, yet she captivates and holds an audience spellbound by her wonderful imitation of the Irish, German, Negro and Scotch Dialects," "Prof. H. V. Richards (Chicago, Ill.), The well known Veteran Science Demonstrator. Marvelous Chemical Experiments. Unique. Fascinating. He Brings a Ton of Apparatus," and "Kline's Lumiere Cinematographe Co., (Richmond, Ind.), 3 Machines. The most up-to-date and best moving pictures in America" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1902, 18-19). While listings of the performers and lecturers had been

used since the 1895 session, only the last several programs placed additional emphasis on the entertainments by expanding the descriptions. By contrast, the 1895 session program allotted more room to the lecturers and included a descriptive sentence for each of them. The volume of entertainments and the lengthening of the descriptors supports the conclusion of a shift in the textual emphasis of the Florida Chautauqua. The cultural goods deemed desirable were decreasingly education and religion and increasingly more purely entertaining (music, speech, moving-pictures).

The increase in entertainments was not necessarily detrimental to the education departments. The program still placed significant emphasis on this traditional area of the Chautauqua text; however, unlike the entertainments, there was no concomitant increase in length or number of educational ventures as the length of the program increased.

The program did emphasize the desire of the directors to provide quality educational opportunities for the attendees at the 1902 session. The opening paragraph for the coursework section stresses their goal:

The Florida Chautauqua presents for the Session of 1902 an unrivaled list of talent in Music, Physical Training, Art, Literature, Elocution and Kindergarten. It has been the purpose of its Officers and Directors to secure not only the best representatives in every department, but also recognized authorities on national and educational questions. Every department of study is under the head of a competent and celebrated leader and the course of instruction is thorough and efficient. (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1902, 5)

This printed material continued the practice of presenting items with the goal of developing in the reader a disposition to recognize value in

these activities/goods and moving the reader to act by participating. If the written materials could lead to the creation of this text with benefits that outweighed the costs (monetary, time, distance, etc.), the reader would be more likely to attend the session and the planners would be successful.

The departments for the 1902 session were Music under the direction of Prof. B. F. Peters, Pianoforte with Prof. J. C. McMeans; Physical Training and Elocution directed by Miss Florence Sinclair Chapin, a Columbia School of Oratory graduate; Art (including phyrography—burning on wood and leather —and china painting); Wood Carving; Kindergarten; the Sunday School, Normal, and Bible Study and the Round Table.

Two other events listed with the educational departments are significant and do not follow the normal structure of the classes. The first is the Congress of Religion, which had eight scheduled activities over the period March 10 - March 14. The organization began as a result of the Parliament of Religion held in Chicago in 1893 in conjunction with the Colombian Exposition. "Its purpose. . . is to unite in a larger fellowship and coōperation [sic] churches of various denominations and workers of all faiths in 'the thought and work of the world under the great law and life of love'" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1902, 12). This meeting was the spring session of the congress and planners expected to draw the leading ministers and educators of the South.

The second other significant event listed in the education area of the program was a presentation of the Passion Play in moving pictures.

The management engaged Kline's Cinematographe Company to show thirty-one films ranging in length from seventy four to fourteen hundred feet. The films were to recreate the performance given at Oberammergau, Germany, each summer. This event was a significant occasion for religion as well as entertainment. The program summarized the anticipated presentation, insisting that "[n]o theatre on earth can compare with the vividness of this soul-stirring drama; no history can place before one this wonderful story in so perfect, impressive and instructive a way as by means of these marvelous moving pictures" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1902, 14).

The analysis of the performance text does not reveal anything significant not already noted. Of the one hundred sixty seven events identified in the program, seventy-seven, or forty-seven percent, were purely entertainment (music, speech, or mixed). This total does not include general lectures, which might be categorized as entertaining but which were included in general educational activities. By contrast only twenty-one percent of the program was religious in nature (all Sunday activities such as sermons, Vespers services, and song services). This session had a decrease in general lectures of an educational nature, only twenty-one. The lectures were all confined to the afternoon time slot, with the evenings reserved almost exclusively for concerts and other entertainments.

With the 1902 session, the strong entertainment nature of the Florida Chautauqua text was firmly entrenched. Based on the increasing length of the session and the increase in paid entertainers, the Florida assembly was apparently financially successful. As the

United States was making its way into the twentieth century, society was changing. Educational needs were being met more adequately in a growing and more dependable public school system. The Chautauqua was adjusting to consumer demands for more entertainment with less concern for basic educational or religious activities.

**1903
February 10 - April 4
Nineteenth Session**

The 1903 session continued many of the trends already identified in the previous two or three years. The Florida Chautauqua was now eight weeks in length, a fact heralded in the opening paragraphs of the program, which declared that this is "a period surpassed by no other assembly in the United States, and equaled only by the Great Mother Chautauqua of New York" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1903, 1). This program continued the development of the Florida assembly as an entertainment text. The opening page advertised over one hundred fifty entertainments with very limited mention of the educational or religious aspects once prominent in the programs. The printed program was written to appeal to a clientele in the middle to upper-middle classes or those who desired to be considered connoisseurs of culture. This aim is evident in statements such as "The programme, diversified and carefully selected, responds to the taste of a refined and cultured people. . . (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1903, 1).

The opening paragraphs also presented the far-reaching effects of the Florida Chautauqua, creating the image of the Florida

Chautauqua as a cultural icon capable of transcending any impression a reader might have of a culturally, morally, or educationally deficient region of the country. The writers observed that the De Funiak Springs assembly had become "a rallying point for visitors from every part of the Union, and has been the means of uniting in a bond of closer brotherhood the people of Alabama, Georgia, and Western Florida. Her growth has been phenomenal, her influence far-reaching, her teachings elevating. . . ." (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1903, 1). In the opinion of Florida's Governor Jennings, given during a speech at the 1902 session, the Florida Chautauqua was like a torch "whose 'greater light shone over the State and adjoining States, uplifting and blessing the people'" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1903, 1). All of these statements, presented at the opening of the written program for 1903, combined to create a text designed to inspire the readers to attain a new level of self-awareness, to expand their body of knowledge to heretofore unknown dimensions. The rest of the opening material in the printed program exactly matched previously printed materials in word and content.

The educational opportunities afforded during the 1903 session were similar to previous years. Departments included the standard department of Music, but for the first time with a separate department for Chorus, promising that "special attention will be given to the instruction of the Chorus this season, which will take a more prominent part in the concert work than in the past" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1903, 7). The Pianoforte department was repeated, as was the Art department, offering classes in oil, water colors, painting on china and glass,

pyrography, carved leather, lace and needle work, basketry, and beadwork. The Physical Culture and Expression department included instruction in "vital center" work, dumbbells, club and wand exercises, with additional instruction in Delsarte gymnastics and Corrective gymnastics. The assembly again included a Kindergarten and a Sunday School, Normal and Bible study department with a daily Devotional and Bible hour. The last department, also frequently seen before, was the Round Table.

The major attraction advertised for the 1903 session was the inclusion of fireworks for the illumination of the Chautauqua grounds. Several Saturday evenings, in conjunction with the large excursions from Pensacola and other communities, featured large displays of fireworks. There were to be "over two hundred and fifty pieces containing the largest and most elaborate prismatic, shooting star, and shower rockets, and bomb shells. . . ." (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1903, 15). The program advertised that "[t]his will be a sight never to be forgotten, and De Funiak will appear a veritable Fairy-land" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1903, 15). This emphasis on the fireworks displays only illustrates further the development of the entertainment text at the Florida Chautauqua.

The other forms of entertainment, namely musical, speech, and illustrated or entertaining lecturers, remained a major part of the program, with forty-two different entertainments, including Glee Clubs and Concert companies, and only twenty-nine different lecturers. The 1903 program scheduled fifty musical entertainments, nine speech/reading entertainments, and twenty-six entertainments which combined

several forms of presentation. This number compares to only thirty-five religious events, all of which were on Sundays in conjunction with worship services or Vespers services. There were only thirty-one educational lectures, some of which might just as easily qualify as entertainment.

With the approach of its twentieth anniversary during the next session, the success of the Florida Chautauqua is obvious from its expanding program length as well as its increased activities and entertainers. Also, one may conclude that the Chautauqua had at least met with moderate success in its quest to define and meet the cultural needs of its attendees. Both the performance text and the cultural text were now more entertainment-directed as opposed to the religious and/or educational direction evident in the earlier years of the assembly. The nature of the cultural text has also evidenced great change in the sense of what the Chautauqua has put forth as valuable to the attendees. An emphasis on classical music and what was deemed to be great literary texts had slowly (although not completely) been replaced with entertainments of a more vaudeville nature and with literary works serialized in the current periodicals of the day. This shift is traceable more to changing taste than to changing cultural standards. In an economic move the Florida Chautauqua started offering entertainments dictated by attendee's taste instead of setting the standards and hoping the audience would adapt.

**1904
February 9 - April 2
Twentieth Session**

Probably the most notable feature of the 1904 Florida Chautauqua is its lack of originality. In celebrating its twentieth anniversary, the promoters of the De Funiak Springs assembly chose to simply duplicate the 1903 session. The printed program demonstrates most fully a procedure illustrated at least partially in all of the previous programs, that of verbatim duplication of opening paragraphs, notices, and descriptions. It had been a common practice throughout the years of the printed program (at least post-1893) to use varying portions exactly as they appeared in the previous year's program. In some cases, such as the paragraph entitled "The Water," the material had perpetuated itself for over a decade. The 1904 session also was eight weeks in length.

The educational departments available in the 1904 session reflect the traditional offerings made available in each session since the fourteenth assembly in 1898. Beginning with the 1898 assembly, the departments of music (including chorus and pianoforte), art, elocution (sometimes offered in conjunction with physical culture), kindergarten, Sunday school, normal and Bible study, and Round Table, had been consistently offered with very few additional courses included. The additional courses, such as point lace or cooking, appeared only in 1898 and 1899. From time to time the emphasis of a course might vary. For example, the 1904 offering of Physical Culture and Elocution was to consist of "Voice Culture (Articulation and Modulation), Orthoepy and Phonetic Analysis, Gesture and Physical Culture, Thought Conception,

Description and Reading and Recitation" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1904, 11). In contrast, the 1903 class had been devoted to physical training.

Entertainment in the 1904 session also followed the pattern utilized in 1903 and previous years with a heavy emphasis on the music and speech entertainments and a number of illustrated lecturers. A total of fifty-three different performers or performing groups were engaged for the twentieth session, up ten from the previous year. There were thirty-four lecturers (many of them also preachers for the Sunday services), an increase of only five over the last session.

The performance text of the 1904 session was also similar to the 1903 assembly: more than seventy-five entertainments, with only thirty-four religious events and thirty-seven lectures included in the program. Perhaps more significant in relation to the performance text and cultural text is the fact that for the first three weeks of the assembly there were no Sunday evening sermons. For the first time in twenty sessions the Sunday schedule did not include both a morning and an evening session. The evening sermons began with the fourth Sunday and continued throughout the remainder of the program. The textual makeup of the Florida Chautauqua continued to strengthen in the area of entertainment while weakening in both education and religion.

Not only did the number of entertainments increase, but the individual events became more complex. This session included an increased number of mixed entertainments, those entertainments which utilized speech, music, and possibly other forms of entertainment. Many of these events, variously labeled "Grand Concert," "Marvelous

Entertainment,” and “Wonderful and Unique Entertainment,” were very elaborate. For example, the February 20 concert included the Otterbein Male Quartette [sic], Dramatic Selection by Emelie Ehret Adams, a Soprano Solo by Jessie M. Crane, Artistic Club Swinging by Caroline Arthur Dinwiddie, a contralto singer, and Charles Dennison Kellogg doing imitations of feathered songsters. One of the final concerts on March 19 featured “The Great Magician, ‘Ellwood’ in ‘Kweer Kompany” with “weird tricks, smoke stretching and Wonderful Hand Manipulations.” The program also had the Bentley Ball Concert Company, Walter Ball, baritone soloist; Caroline Washburn, violinist; Carrie Hyatt, pianist; and Annie May Morrman, reader.

Still popular, and also part of the program, were stereopticon and moving pictures with a presentation of “Hiawatha and Minnehaha.” The evening was to end with the illumination of the Chautauqua grounds and fireworks (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1904, 32). These longer events were generally scheduled for Saturday evenings as an enticement for the excursion crowd brought in from the panhandle and southern Alabama region.

The 1904 program had one other interesting fact. Previously, attendance numbers had not been announced; however, in promoting the chorus department, the printed program observed that when the chorus sang at the closing concert in 1903, over two thousand people were in attendance (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1904, 7). Although this number does not necessarily indicate attendance during the week at the day-in and day-out sessions, it is an indication that, at least in part,

the assembly had seen some numerical success, which apparently justified the lengthening of the assembly.

1906
January 29 - March 31
Twenty-second Session

No printed program is extant for the 1905 session, although references in the 1906 program make it clear that a session was offered. The 1906 session was the twenty-second assembly for the De Funiak Springs gathering. As seen regularly in previous printed programs, the opening paragraphs of the 1906 program allowed the reader to create a strong, positive text of the Florida Chautauqua. For probably the first time (it is not clear what happened in 1905), the management expanded the Florida Chautauqua to nine full weeks. The 1906 session was the longest running Chautauqua program in the country, even exceeding the 'Mother Chautauqua' in New York. This program fully appropriated the shift in the textual nature of the Florida Chautauqua from religion and education to entertainment. The opening line proclaims "Nine weeks of superb entertainments" and "an unrivaled list of attractions." "Unrivaled talent" filled the nine-week session as well (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1906, 1). To further assist the reader in the development of a text regarding the content of the program, the opening paragraphs heralded the influence of those employed for the program, declaring that their "thought has moulded [sic] the institutions of our country" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1906, 1). All of these declarations sought to build the credibility of the assembly and thus create a sense of worth for the reader to participate and

exchange his/her goods (time, money, etc.) for the opportunity to increase cultural competence.

The printed program continued this goal of creating credibility with its description of the assembly in a broader context. Apart from the program content, writers presented the assembly as having a “wider clientage” giving the De Funiak institution the reputation “as the great health resort and intellectual center of the South. No place offers so many advantages to the seeker after health and rest” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1906, 1). The natural surroundings provided for the health of visitors while “the Chautauqua Assembly contributes sociability and entertainment for the winter visitors.” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1906, 1). If the reader had any doubts about the authenticity or cultural advantages of the Florida Chautauqua, the closing paragraph on the opening page attempted to put that to rest: “Her growth has been phenomenal, her influence far-reaching, her teachings elevating. . .” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1906, 1). The rest of the descriptive portion of the 1906 program stayed essentially unchanged from previous programs, with the exception of the description of Alpine Park, a serene area where the lover of nature could rest.

The educational offerings followed the pattern established in the 1904 program. The offerings were standard: Music, chorus, pianoforte (including Music Theory), Art, Physical Culture and Expression, Round Table, and Sunday School, Normal and Bible Study. Perhaps the most interesting note of this program is under the last department.

Although classified as an educational department, the Bible

study department was the only major vestige of religious training remaining for the Florida Chautauqua. After a listing of the teachers and leaders for the daily Devotional and Bible Hour, the program described a new facet implemented during the 1905 session. Called "Twilight Prayer," the event was apparently a daily happening held at 7:30 p.m., led by Captain M. B. Pilcher. This daily prayer time met a need expressed by those attending the assembly. "It has been the request for many years of patrons that the old time religious meeting full of inspiration and song be embodied in the Chautauqua work, and Captain Pilcher throws into the meeting a genuineness and personality that cannot fail to make itself a force for good among the community" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1906, 13). This statement is interesting because it seems to recognize the shifting emphasis of the Florida Chautauqua and its departure from the earlier years of the assembly, as well as acknowledge some degree of interest among the patrons of the assembly for the earlier emphases. The program did not make it clear whether or not twilight prayer was a daily occurrence, simply stating that it "will be held again at the 7:30 hour this year" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1906, 13). The event was listed in the program only four times, February 6-9, as the "Twilight Hour." If it occurred at additional times, the printed program bore no mention.

The front matter of the printed program provides one other entry to help the reader complete the story of the Florida Chautauqua. The promoters included a brief paragraph about the town of De Funiak Springs. As noted earlier, it is almost impossible to separate the development of De Funiak Springs from the development of the Florida

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Chautauqua. Although the Florida Chautauqua had its own grounds with distinctive borders, its development and fortunes were closely entwined with the community. In an apparent attempt to assure the would-be attendee that the location of the assembly was not wild territory (as might have been assumed at this time in the development and settlement of West Florida), the promoters focused on the business community of De Funiak Springs. Not only had the Chautauqua grown but “the rapid growth and prosperity of its [De Funiak Springs] business interests have kept steady pace with the advance of the Chautauqua” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1906, 14). The residents had enthusiasm, patriotism, and the “Chautauqua feeling.” Businessmen and prominent citizens made donations to the Chautauqua, enabling the assembly to make needed improvements on the buildings. The attendee need not worry about being without the luxuries a larger city could supply. “De Funiak is the business center of a wide section, and her stores and main street resemble the bustle and activity of a city many times its size” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1906, 14). Emphasizing the cosmopolitan character of the city represents a shift in the cultural text (or at least a shift in emphasis). Previously, an emphasis on contact with local people as well as those who came for the Chautauqua marked the cultural text. The contact was still an element but this presentation has a more practical, business-like aura, promising to meet physical needs as well as cultural needs.

As promised in its opening, the 1906 session was replete with numerous and varied entertainments, listing fifty-three different entertainers or groups, including an increased number of groups such

as the Vanderbilt University Glee Club with twenty-eight members, the Bach Cello Company, the Louis Bloom Concert Company, and the Ohio Conservatory Concert Company. Seven of the seventeen entertainments listed under Illustrated Lecturers and Entertainers presented lectures complete with pictures of distant lands both ancient and modern, including Herbert L. Bridgeman's "Peary's Progress Toward the Pole," Kenneth Bruce's "Historic Scotland," and John Sanborn's presentation on the customs and manners of the Iroquois Indians. Almost a dozen more musical events rounded out the program as compared to the 1904 session.

By contrast, the program listed only twenty-eight speakers for the Lecture Platform, the lowest percentage of lecturers ever — there were nineteen in 1899, an assembly of just six weeks compared to the nine-week session in 1906. It is important to note that the number of lecturers included those pastors who gave the daily devotional and Bible study as well as those who preached the Sunday sermons.

With the 1906 session the Florida Chautauqua reached its peak. The assembly would never surpass its nine-week sessions and only once more would it offer a program this long. The session also completed the transformation from educational/religious institution to entertainment institution. The text had been successfully rewritten. Vestiges of the early foundations of the assembly in education and religion still existed, but without their former importance and prominence.

The increased length and performer role are also indicators of the economic success of the Florida Chautauqua. The cultural situation

had changed since the beginning of the assembly over twenty years previous. By responding to the desires of its constituency (indicated by the phrase "responds to the taste of a refined and cultured people") the Florida Chautauqua was successful in adapting to changing times. Apparently sufficient interest and monetary outlay justified the long, nine-week sessions with the increased number of performers. Whereas in the beginning the management chose the program features and then attempted to convince (sell) the public on those goods, they had shifted to trying to guess what people wanted. The earlier motives were no less commercial than the later ones.

Education and Entertainment in Northwest Florida, 1898-1906

As the panhandle of Florida approached the turn of the century, public education continued to expand. Between 1899 and 1903 enrollment in Escambia county schools increased by almost one-thousand pupils, a twenty-five percent increase. The mostly rural Santa Rosa and Walton counties experienced moderate growth (Tables 2, 3). Free education was available to both white and Negro children in separate schools.

The most significant change in education in Florida came in 1903 when the Florida legislature passed a bill introduced by Escambia county school board member Senator W. A. Blount. Blount's bill provided for free education for every child for twelve consecutive years, each designated a grade. Each grade was to comprise at least eight months of instruction (John Appleyard Agency, 20). While this was not compulsory education, the bill opened the way for those who

wanted a full education. The 1903 law and its standardization of grades contributed to the decline of the one-room schoolhouse. By mid-1904, Escambia county had two senior high schools and seven rural graded schools, up by five (John Appleyard Agency, 20; Board of Public Instruction, 3). Still, as many as ninety percent of those enrolled did not complete requirements and graduate (Ellsworth, 86). In 1903, as a result of Blount's bill, Walton county established its first high school.

Table 2 - Schools and Enrollments for Panhandle counties 1898-1899
(Sheats, 50-51)

1898-99	# of Schools			Children			Enrollment		
County	Total	White	Negro	6-21	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro
Escambia	63	45	18	7,036	4,184	2,852	3,944	2,713	1,231
Santa Rosa	68	60	8	3,512	2,631	881	2,359	1,905	454
Walton	69	59	10	2,965	2,506	459	2,277	1,934	343

Table 3 - Schools and Enrollments for Panhandle counties 1902-1903
(Sheats, 85)

1902	# of Schools			Children			Enrollment		
County	Total	White	Negro	6-21	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro
Escambia	66	46	20	8,060	4,910	3,150	4,929	3,213	1,716
Santa Rosa	68	59	9	3,930	3,160	770	2,442	2,009	433
Walton	67	56	11	3,510	2,860	650	2,345	1,895	450

During the period 1896-1906 the nature of classwork was changing as well. In addition to standard subjects, the expanded

school year and grades allowed for more electives. The standard high school curriculum included English, mathematics, history and Latin, with electives in German, French, Greek and Spanish. Classes ran from 9 a.m. until 3 p.m. (Board of Instruction, 39). In the years immediately following 1903, the curriculum expanded to include practical industrial and domestic arts (like sewing), and commercial courses as well as training in the fine arts (Ellsworth, 86).

The expansion of educational opportunities for the younger citizens of the panhandle region meant that before coming to the assembly, a greater percentage of the Florida Chautauqua constituency would have already appropriated many of the basic goods which were prominent features in the early years of the assembly. They had mastered basic educational goods and were now receiving more training in and exposure to cultural goods.

At the same time, the older citizens were enjoying greater economic success and therefore more free time (Clubbs, 384). This free time was often filled for Pensacolians by attending the Opera House. According to Bilbo, the Opera House hosted an average of sixty-three performances a year between 1900 and 1906, peaking with eighty-one performances in 1906 (126-147). Audiences were treated to everything from Shakespeare to opera to minstrel shows. During this time the Pensacola Opera House was part of the theatrical syndicate that controlled bookings at the first class houses and helped guarantee top attractions for Pensacola (Bilbo, 40).

Pensacolians with an interest in theater could also participate through the Pensacola Literary and Dramatic Association. The amateur

group presented numerous theatrical events starting in the late 1880s and continuing for some thirty years (Bilbo, 31).

Conclusion

The Florida Chautauqua reached its zenith between 1898 and 1906. Program length expanded, program content increased, and attendance appears to have skyrocketed. The physical plant also grew during this time to accommodate the increasing crowds. A reading of the text as it appeared in 1906 differs significantly from the text of 1897. While all of the same themes were present in both texts, the prominence given to one over the others changed. The current text (1906) primarily featured the theme of entertainment. A variety of readers, impersonators, illustrated lecturers, magicians, and humorists complemented musical concerts and preludes.

Education and religion as themes were still present in the program and the program still made strong claims for their prominence, but they were no longer dominant as they had been in the previous period of the assembly. Fewer of the men participating in the program had "Rev." before their names, while more were "Dr." or "Prof." All of these shifts came in response to the overriding theme of commerciality. These changes came in an apparent response to the management's sense of economic need, resulting from the changing desires of the audience. Religious training and education were now available from other resources, and the Chautauqua's role in these areas was not so crucial. Crowds responded to the new focus on entertainment especially on Saturday evenings.

The theme of entertainment was a strong one for the management of the Chautauqua. Its emphasis led the Florida Chautauqua to experience its greatest years in existence in terms of length of program and number of acts employed. Despite this attainment, however, the future would not hold the same success.

The shift in cultural goods at the Florida Chautauqua from religion and education to entertainment also indicates that the Northwest Florida constituency was coming of age. With basic educational needs met more completely by the public school system, and with the South experiencing more complete recovery from the Civil War, more cosmopolitan matters claimed attention. This new, more sophisticated audience could more readily appropriate the entertainment-oriented cultural goods made available through the Florida Chautauqua. Concomitantly the goods being offered met the demands and the desires of the consumers who attended the yearly assembly.

The promoters capitalized on this shift in audience sophistication. As the cultural situation changed in Northwest Florida, the management of the Florida Chautauqua was able to identify those goods it could still successfully offer to the public. They had to offer goods the public desired but that were not so readily available as to lessen the need to obtain the goods in the Chautauqua venue. The economic advantages would have been strong, especially with the successful integration of the Saturday excursions.

The Saturday excursions and the people who took them were interesting events when viewed in terms of cultural competence. These

individuals were either unwilling or unable to invest considerable time in the activities and so naturally would not have attained the same level of sophistication as the individual in full attendance. They must have, however, possessed either significant cultural competence already or at least a recognition of its desirability to invest the time and money for one day of activities. With both leisure time and income on the increase, the Florida Chautauqua provided a means of taking advantage of both commodities. The success of the Saturday excursions is a clear indication of the shift in the cultural sophistication of the audience in the Florida panhandle. It is unlikely that these excursions could have been sustained in the first decade or so of the institution because of the general level of competence in the local constituency. Education, both formal and informal, offered by the Chautauqua and other sources had succeeded in equipping the inhabitants of the area with the necessary tools to participate in the cultural marketplace.

The Florida Chautauqua had successfully adapted to meet a changing role in the area's cultural marketplace. Its transition meant that audiences were afforded an array of entertainment opportunities and equally important, that its promoters and managers would reap economic benefit.

CHAPTER 5

The Best Thought, the Best Expression, the Best Work: A Struggle for Textual Unity, 1907-1920

If 1906 was the zenith of the Florida Chautauqua, then 1907 was certainly one of its lowest points and served as a harbinger for the coming years. "The best thought. . . the best expression. . . the best work" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1909, 1) were three goals of the program presented in the 1909 printed materials. The management increasingly struggled to meet these goals over the following decade.

While there would still be assemblies equivalent in length to the 1906 session, the length, content, and thematic emphasis of the sessions beginning with 1907 were constantly in flux. While the themes of education and religion were constant and strengthened during the early period of the assembly, and the theme of entertainment dominated the middle years, the final period had no such unity of theme. Education and entertainment alternated in prominence, sometimes on a yearly basis. Only once was religion reintroduced (and not very successfully at that) as a viable controlling theme. The Florida Chautauqua as text became a disjointed volume of related chapters with threads of thought linking each chapter but strong thematic unity lacking.

There was a concomitant shift in cultural goods as well. During this final period there was less consistency from assembly to assembly in offerings. The changing economic, cultural, and educational scene and a world war heavily influenced the assemblies. The Florida Chautauqua sought to adapt but failed.

1907
February 22 - March 30
Twenty-third Session

A dramatic change is evident in the 1907 program, both in the printed program and in the overall structure and content of the assembly. The differences between the 1906 assembly and program, in which the Florida Chautauqua reached its zenith, and the 1907 assembly and program are multitudinous. The printed program gives the first evidence of the change.

The printed program for the twenty-third assembly was similar to past programs in that its purpose was still to sell the reader on attendance by helping the reader create the most desirable text possible. Although the assembly was scheduled for only six weeks, three weeks shorter than the 1906 assembly, the printed program was the same length — forty-eight pages. The opening paragraphs were similar in length and content, but the printed program considerably lengthened the description of talent (although the amount of talent was less) and increased the number of pictures occupying space.

One of the first major shifts evident immediately from the written material was the change in emphasis from entertainment back to education. In contrast to the 1906 program, which immediately stressed the entertainment theme of that year's assembly, the 1907

program made no reference to entertainment but rather to “a strong list of attractions” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1907, 1). The individuals contracted for the 1907 session were promoted as “celebrated artists whose genius has made the American platform a great educational factor in individual and national development” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1907, 1). The material advertised this session as containing a “higher and better class of entertainment, happily blending the refining influence of music and song with the abiding instruction of travelogue and lecture” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1907, 1). The promoters effectively sought to combine two cultural goods into one which might broaden appeal and made the attendee feel good about him/herself, since the benefit of education tempered the frivolity of entertainment. The refocusing of attention by the promoters also represents another shift. Once again the management presented itself as the arbiter of culture instead of the consumer. During the other assemblies after the turn of the century the program boasted that it reflected the desires of refined and cultured individuals. This program reflects a re-taking of control by the planners.

Not only was the emphasis on education and not on entertainment, but the method of delivery of the education was also different with this year’s assembly. Previously, class instruction was available only to those individuals who paid the various course fees. With the 1907 program, the management opened the courses to the public, free of charge. The change was so dramatic that even the program recognized the radical difference, declaring that the 1907 session “marks a new epoch in our history, making this, the twenty-third

anniversary, a realization of the truest Chautauqua spirit" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1907, 1). At the beginning of the section describing the various lines of coursework, the introductory paragraph repeated the decision to offer instruction free to all. The paragraph further declared that this change "is but the beginning of a great system of free schools which will be held under the auspices of the Florida Chautauqua" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1907, 5). How the costs were covered is difficult to determine. Several possibilities exist: general admission ticket prices may have been raised (the program does not list entrance fees), local merchants could have helped to underwrite costs, or the income from private coursework may have been low enough that the managers hoped to make up the difference by attracting more individuals to pay the general admittance fee.

All of the references to "new epoch," "truest Chautauqua spirit," and "strong list of attractions," among others, served to divert the reader from creating a negative text of the Florida Chautauqua. Any individual with any exposure to the Florida Chautauqua in recent years would immediately spot the radical changes and would probably respond negatively to those changes. As with all of the programs, the promoters were concerned about creating a positive image, but faced with comparison to recent programs, they had a greater task in front of them. This challenge would account for the grandiose statements and the attempt to justify the changes by associating this Chautauqua with a new epoch, an epoch separate from the 1906 session with all of its offerings and entertainments.

As early as 1895 the program listed the talent, often taking several pages. This listing had traditionally been divided into such categories as "Musical Roll," "Illustrated Lecturers and Entertainments," "Readers and Impersonations," and "Lecture Platform." Likewise, the 1907 program allotted room for the listing of the talent, but in a much different format. The first noticeable change was that instead of the various headings, all of the talent was combined into one list entitled "List of Talent," with no distinction between musician, reader, and lecturer. The second major change is that each performer or group bore a brief paragraph of description. Previous programs might have included one or two additional lines especially about the illustrated lecturers and entertainments, but in this program every talent rated a full paragraph. Expanding the description allowed the talent list to consume eight pages of the program (with photographs) for a listing of talent less than half the number of the 1906 program, which needed just five pages. Using more room for less talent was another means by which the promoters were able to conceal the major changes and lack of talent.

To the casual reader of the program the assembly might have appeared as strong as ever. The reader's initial textual construction would have been positive. However, if the reader began a careful and complete analysis of the performance text, the individual would not take long to discover that there were serious changes in content and presentation from previous assemblies.

One of the first performance text differences the reader would notice was the classwork offered. The courses included in the 1907

program were Music (chorus was a part of this department), Photography, Literature, Elocution, Physical Training, The Seton Indians, and The Bible Hour, but no courses in Kindergarten or Art. A lecture/discussion class in Literature led by Kenneth Bruce, the superintendent, replaced the Round Table, popular for many years. Bruce scheduled the department to study several Shakespearean plays. The Bible Hour replaced the Sunday School, Normal and Bible Study department of previous years, limiting the focus of the department. Elocution and Physical Training, always combined in the past, created two distinctive departments. The assembly offered elocution only during the middle of March, with the Physical Training class offered just during the last week of the Chautauqua. The decrease in coursework partially explains how the managers could afford to open up the training to everyone without additional charge. With fewer instructors to pay, income from private courses was not as critical.

The Seton Indians was a special department for children six to sixteen years of age. Described by founder Ernest Thompson Seton as “something to do, something to think about, and something to enjoy in the woods, with a view always to Character Building” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1907, 9), the group, similar to the Boy and Girl Scouts, utilized Indian terminology and activities for training purposes. Activities included athletics, nature study, promotion of self-government, and camping.

The number of personnel employed for this session is considerably lower. The roster included eight musicians, eleven

illustrated lecturers or entertainers, and nine platform lecturers. This decrease was very evident in the Bible study area. In 1905, more than a dozen individuals participated in the daily devotional hour. That number increased to sixteen with the 1906 session. In 1907 the management scheduled only four individuals to participate.

While the time of the 1907 session was approximately thirty-three percent shorter than the 1906 gathering, the program content was reduced almost fifty percent, except in the educational lecture area in which the drop was only twenty-five percent. The management scheduled only twenty religious activities, as compared to more than forty the previous year. One significant change was the lack of a Sunday evening sermon time throughout the entire assembly. The 1907 session was the first time in the history of this Chautauqua that there was only a song service or Vesper service on Sunday evening for the entire assembly time.

The number of entertainments was down even more. Whereas in 1906 the program included fifty-five different musical events, in 1907 it included fewer than twenty. Most of the change was in the musical area; however, the speech entertainments fell from six to two, with mixed entertainments dropping from nineteen to sixteen. The one area that held its ground and even increased proportionately was the educational lecture area. The session scheduled twenty-four different lectures, a decrease of only twenty five percent (compared to a decrease in time length of thirty-three percent).

The Florida Chautauqua text shifted dramatically with its 1907 chapter. The reasons for the shift are not clear. The management

remained the same between 1906 and 1907. The program offered no indication that the 1906 session was unsuccessful, although neither did it contain a reference to the success of that assembly. It is possible that the promoters overextended themselves with the nine week session with all of its talent. The panhandle did suffer a major hurricane in 1906. Less than five months before the start of the Florida Chautauqua for 1907, the *Pensacola News Journal* on September 25 repeated a Weather Bureau advisory that there was a disturbance in the Gulf off of Cuba ("Disturbance in the Gulf", 1). The Wednesday morning paper of September 26 cautioned vessels from leaving port because of an approaching storm but observed "while it is possible that the storm is still in the gulf moving in this direction it is believed by mariners that it has passed Pensacola . . . it is possible that such is not the case" ("Vessels Warned of Approach of Storm," 3). By noon on Wednesday winds revealed the storm had not passed yet. For twenty four hours the Panhandle was hit by the hurricane. Winds reached eighty-eight miles per hour at the peak. The Thursday headline read "Most Terrific Tropical Hurricane," calling the storm the "most terrific storm in history of Pensacola" (1). The storm claimed at least ten lives and damaged property extensively. Shipping was hardest hit with the port losing most of its wharves. The storm devastated businesses and individuals throughout Pensacola. "The greatest harm was wrought along east Main Street, the south side of which had been completely washed away. Beginning at the corner of Zarragossa and Florida Blanca every house, clear to the De Silva mill has been destroyed" ("Most Terrific Tropical Hurricane, 1). By Friday the damage was more

evident with estimates that damage costs would reach nearly \$400,000 ("Fierce Gale and High Seas Left Death and Desolation in Wake", 1). Later the same article reported that the waves washed away "miles of track and Big Escambia Trestle" (4). This meant at least a temporary halt to transportation to the east. The railroad hoped to restore service within weeks. The storm reportedly struck land just west of Pensacola (Mobile was heavily damaged as well), and although the heaviest damage is on the east of a storm, De Funiak Springs was probably far enough east to feel the effects of the storm but not the level of damage in Pensacola. Still, the storm affected the February Florida Chautauqua. Many individuals in Northwest Florida were still recovering from the storm, a situation which doubtless forced individuals to redirect resources that might normally go to the assembly to help with the recovery. Time that would normally have been spent planning the session was given over to recovery of normal every-day life. The hurricane seems the most likely cause for the disappointing 1907 session. By contrast, the New York Chautauqua had strong programs in 1906 and again in 1907 (Irwin, 85), indicating the United States did not suffer any widespread economic difficulties.

1908
February 12 - March 28
Twenty-fourth Session

The Florida Chautauqua rebounded slightly with the twenty-fourth session in 1908. The length expanded by one week to seven weeks. The purpose of the session, given in the opening paragraphs of the printed program, expanded upon that given in 1907. The promoters see the schedule of events as responding to the

growing demand for a better and more instructive class of entertainment and illustrated lectures on travel, as well as popular lectures on vital subjects, while interpretative readings from the masters of standard and modern literature, interspersed with musical features by the famous artists emphasize the importance of the fine arts in modern culture (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1908, 1).

This goal still reflected the emphasis on entertainment identified in earlier Chautauqua sessions, but modified it with educational and cultural aspects. The platform was to reflect a “more instructive class of entertainment,” while including the “masters of . . . literature” and emphasizing “the importance of fine arts in modern culture.” The definition was an attempt to create a more refined cultural text. The promoters could no longer rely on an uninformed or uninitiated clientele. The management had to adjust offerings to reflect the change. The audience had education and increased exposure to cultural goods. By the time the Florida Chautauqua began February 12, the Pensacola Opera House had already presented fourteen events since January 1 (Bilbo, 149).

Perhaps one of the most notable features of the printed program in 1908 is the announcement of the commencement of construction on the new auditorium with a seating capacity of four thousand. In announcing the auditorium (discussed more fully in chapter 2), the promoters hailed this session as “the beginning of a much wider outlook of future development” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1908, 1). Their intent is not fully clear. The reference may be to the shift in emphasis already noted as well as an attempt by the directors of the

Florida Chautauqua to revitalize waning interest and attendance at the sessions.

The introductory paragraph of the educational department expressed a renewed interest in the religious aspect of the Chautauqua. Normally the paper used this paragraph to promote the great teachers and the tremendous personal enrichment opportunities afforded through the class work. While the paragraph included assurance that competent teachers handled the class work, the bulk of the long paragraph detailed the religious training available through the Florida Chautauqua.

Special emphasis is laid, as in the past, on the Biblical Hour, which has played so great a part in our Chautauqua life, and the Sunday Morning Service, the nucleus and bulwark of the great Chautauqua throughout our land, has become a beacon light of truth and spiritual hope, not only to the tourists who visit the Chautauqua each winter and the people of the surrounding district who drive many miles in the early Sabbath morn to attend our morning service but also of patrons and visitors along the entire line of the P. & A. division, who remain over Sunday for the express purpose of hearing the great exponents of Christ's words, and carrying back to their respective communities the highest inspiration of our Chautauqua life--the abiding influence of Christian thought (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1908, 5)

This paragraph highlights the renewed interest in the religious foundations of the Florida Chautauqua, also evident in the program of the 1907 session. These statements reveal an interesting contradiction: while this paragraph heralded the great influence of the religious services on Sunday morning, relating them to the early years of the assembly, no words explained the elimination of the Sunday evening activities. Indeed, this emphasis may have been a means to offset any opposition to the move to lessen Sunday religious activities.

The course offerings also reflected the early trend of offering different subjects each year dependent upon available instructors. During the late 1890's and early 1900's the coursework had been standardized somewhat until the 1907 session. The 1908 session offered the standard course in music with the exception of no chorus. The Literature department continued Kenneth Bruce's lecture series on Shakespeare's plays supplemented by a series of interpretative recitals of other works. The assembly offered the department of Elocution and Expression but under a different format. Instead of organized classes in vocal work, the managers made the various readers featured under the Literature department available for private instruction if anyone desired lessons. For the first time, the printed program advertised the department as "closely allied to the course in literature" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1908, 7). The travelogue popular in the early years of the session made a reappearance as a department of instruction. The assembly offered photography again as well. A new feature of the 1908 session of classwork was the Press Club. With a journalistic emphasis, the club gave members the opportunity to write on various topics, lectures, and entertainments for newspapers throughout the country. The assembly continued the children's department with the theme "The Chautauqua Knights." The teachers organized the children as knights and taught nature study and engaged in a variety of activities. Pearl Carpenter presented another activity for children, listed under classwork as the story-telling hour.

The beginning of Palmer College supplemented the educational offerings of the Florida Chautauqua. This Presbyterian college, in its

first year of work, offered an academy curriculum for parents who did not want children to fall behind in coursework while at the February session. College work had not begun at Palmer College yet, although plans were underway to start offering work toward an A.B. degree.

The performance text shows signs of the fluidity of the session. This program severely limited educational lectures, previously a prominent part of past programs, with only eleven general lectures and six literary lectures. The schedule included almost seventy different entertainment events. In addition to the daily Bible hour, the session had twenty one other religious activities, primarily Sunday services. It is interesting that for the first time the Sunday sermon notice not only listed the individual delivering the sermon but also the musician. This shift in presentation gave the Sunday services a slight entertainment quality as well.

The 1908 session seems to represent an assembly in search of an identity and direction. The nearly standardized programs of the early part of this decade have been replaced by programs with few elements of stability from one to the other. The scheduling of this assembly represents an apparent attempt to link the current Chautauqua with the earlier Chautauquas in emphasis.

The reason for the shift is unclear. The same management was in place as during the lengthy 1906 session with its numerous performers and lecturers. The tenor of the opening paragraph regarding the schedule events, gives the impression that the assembly was not basing programming on the tastes of "refined people" as it did during the early part of the century, but instead the management was

again making programming decisions as the arbiters of culture themselves. The program supposedly emphasized “the fine arts in modern culture,” possibly a response to the increasingly vaudeville nature of entertainment in recent years. As the goods offered by the Florida Chautauqua became increasingly more commonplace and accessible, they become less economically profitable for the assembly management. The cultural situation was changing in Northwest Florida and the Florida Chautauqua was floundering in its attempt to identify goods that had commercial value.

**1909
February 3 - March 27
Twenty-fifth Session**

The Florida Chautauqua strengthened (as measured by length and number of events) somewhat during the 1909 session as compared to the 1907 and 1908 meetings. Whether this increase was the result of greater interest and profit or because it was the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the Florida Chautauqua is not clear. The dedication of a new auditorium and classroom structure and various anniversary day celebrations marked the seven-week session.

The focus of the program’s opening pages is the new auditorium. Featuring a picture of the four-thousand-seat edifice, the opening paragraph advertised the dedication ceremony, to be held on the opening day. Besides a seating area for four thousand, the Hall of Brotherhood also contained rooms for classes in elocution, literature, Bible study, and music. Presumably there was great satisfaction in the completion of the hall, and the promoters could point to it as a symbol of the vibrancy of the De Funiak Springs assembly.

In a format typical to these printed programs, the 1909 program again attempted to create in the reader an expectation of high value from the Florida Chautauqua. The 1909 program expanded the areas of interest from the 1908 program to include wide-ranging exposure to educational and entertainment subjects.

In short, the best thought, the best expression, the best work born of minds which are to-day [sic] arousing the thinking world are placed before the patrons of our Chautauqua, causing the Institution to refer with pride to the recent tribute of Governor Broward of Florida when he said he considered the Florida Chautauqua "next to the Public Schools the most valuable educational asset in the state" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1909, 1).

The invocation of the name of the governor lent credibility from an outside source, only strengthening the promoters' claim to the cultural value of the assembly. The promoters were attempting to convince the reader that the Florida Chautauqua was composed of goods worthy appropriation.

There again appears to be a shifting or a searching for a purpose and goal with the 1909 session. As noted earlier, the 1907 session emphasized the educational nature of the assembly with its opening of classwork to all without charge. The 1908 assembly leaned toward emphasizing the religious facets of the assembly with its long paragraph prior to the listing of the classwork paying intense interest to the Bible hour and the Sunday morning services. The 1909 session attempted to find middle ground with its combination of religion and education, with a strong leaning toward education. The introductory paragraph for the department of instruction linked the Bible training to the literature lectures.

Special emphasis is laid . . . on the Biblical hour and the lectures on literature, which are the great bulwarks of the Chautauqua movement throughout our land. The educational value of this institution is of the utmost importance, filling the vast audiences with abiding inspiration and new ideas (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1909, 5).

The linking of the two areas opened up the creation of a sense of value to a wider audience, some who would find value in the Biblical aspects, others who were looking for educational venues. The linking also invoked the image of the "great Chautauqua movement," assisting the reader in the construction of a text with broader implications and attachments to the nationwide movement. The expansion of Chautauqua assemblies throughout the country and especially the success of the New York Chautauqua gave readers who might be unfamiliar with the Florida Chautauqua a measuring stick by which to create a meaningful text. The program cited the many individuals who attended the Saturday excursions and then stayed for the Sunday morning service to "show the inestimable good the institution is doing, and reveal the abiding influence of its presence upon the community and adjoining counties" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1909, 6).

The 1909 session offered coursework in music, stressing its educational value and "refining influence upon mind and character" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1909, 6) and a series of lectures on literature. The literature course broke away from the Shakespeare studies of the two previous years to study a variety of authors including James Whitcomb Riley, Rudyard Kipling, Henry Drummond, Henry Van Dyke, Tennyson, and Washington Irving. In departing from using only the best known literary figures to including lesser known individuals,

the assembly recognized the changing cultural literacy of the audience. The Chautauqua had to adjust or risk losing patrons who had successfully appropriated all the goods previously offered.

This assembly included Elocution and Expression as a department along the same line as the 1908 session, with instructors available for private instruction. The program promoted the department by reminding the reader that “the highest expression of art is to attain a correct interpretation of the great masterpieces of literature. . . . Literature and elocution are therefore closely allied; the first furnishes the material, the second the mode of expression” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1909, 8). The course was thus no longer just a technical presentation of material but a vehicle by which the individual had the opportunity to more carefully appropriate and participate in art. Elocution became more of a cultural experience here than it had been previously.

Coursework included the Illustrated Lecture department and the Photography department again, as well as a Children's Hour. The children's department was not organized along a strong theme as in the previous two programs. The schedule included the Bible study, with its daily devotional hour, proclaiming to have “unquestionably the greatest list of Bible exponents ever offered on any Chautauqua platform” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1909, 12).

Despite the printed program's emphasis on the educational and religious value of the assembly, entertainment comprised the greatest part of the session's content. The increase in personnel also illustrates the rebounding of the 1909 session. Those employed included sixteen

musical groups or individuals, fifteen illustrated lecturers and readers, and eighteen lecturers. The religious aspects of the program consisted primarily of the daily devotional hour and Sunday activities, which included Sunday school in the local churches, a Sunday morning sermon, and a late afternoon Vesper service. The program listed almost ninety different entertainment events, including regular musical preludes prior to the evening presentations on the main platform, almost daily orchestral concerts, a variety of readings and impersonations, and numerous concerts involving multiple readers and musical performers. For the first time, the entertainment included color motion pictures as well. Educational lectures, both literary and otherwise, account for fewer than twenty-five events.

The 1909 session still represented an assembly in transition. While the printed program emphasized the religious and educational aspects of the assembly, the performance text still had a strong entertainment character. The possibility exists that the reader would create one textual representation of the Florida assembly (that of its educational or religious value) but attend and be confronted with an entertainment-oriented textual reality. Overall the program was strong in terms of length, number of events, and diversity of performers and lecturers and more closely reflected the assemblies in the early 1900's.

1910
February 16 - April 16
Twenty-sixth Session

With the advent of the 1910 season, the Florida Chautauqua regained the character demonstrated in the programs of 1904 and 1906. The length was once again nine weeks, the longest in the

assembly's history, equaled only by the New York Chautauqua. The uncertainty detected in the sessions of 1907-1909 appears to have dissipated since the emphasis returned to the entertainment facets, with limited attention to education and reduced emphasis on religious activities. The first line of the 1910 program promised "nine weeks of entertainment, music and instruction" with the list of attractions "unquestionably the strongest and most popular ever given to the people of Western Florida" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1910, 1).

In typical fashion, the opening of the program laid out reasons why the reader should consider an expenditure of time and money in the Florida Chautauqua. The first reason was the quality of the program already noted above. As a confirmation, the promoters noted the "phenomenal" growth of the assembly from three weeks to nine weeks. This assembly could compete with all other assemblies, including the Mother Chautauqua in New York, because "the platform includes recognized leaders in Chautauqua thought and life, laying equal stress on all the features necessary for the success of such an institution" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1910, 1).

Not only was this performance text a strong reason for the reader to attend, but the physical text supported the performance as demonstrated by the completion of the new auditorium and the Hall of Brotherhood and its claim as "the largest enclosed Chautauqua building in the union" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1910, 1). The program declared that the auditorium with its seating of four thousand was always full on the Saturday excursion days, thus citing the support of the local population for the program as a reason to attend. The

opening summarized for the reader all the reasons to create a favorable text: "its wonderful growth and popularity, unrivaled climate and picturesque location have caused it to be styled 'the Great Florida Chautauqua and Winter Resort of the South'" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1910, 1).

The educational offerings of the 1910 session contained little change from the pattern established through the past three sessions, including coursework in Music, Literature (with interpretative recitals a key element), Elocution and Expression (private instruction), Illustrated Travelogue, Photography, and Bible Study. The only real change was the children's offering. Instead of an organized, theme-oriented class, there was a Children's Day with entertainment brought in from outside the assembly.

One other change in the educational offerings was the inclusion of a medal contest. The purpose of the contest was "to stimulate the desire for oratory and elocution among the schools of Western Florida" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1910, 10). The winner received a gold medal during one of the Saturday evening entertainments.

With this program came a significant change in the offerings of a religious nature. For the first time, the program showed no Sunday morning activities. Since its inception, the Florida Chautauqua had included Sunday school (later held in various local churches), a Sunday morning sermon in the auditorium, a Vespers service, song service, and Sunday evening sermon. The 1910 session lists only a Vesper service at 5:00 p.m. and a sermon at 8:00 p.m. The entire nine-week session included only sixteen religious events as compared to

more than forty during the 1906 session, the other nine-week assembly. During the past three sessions, the Sunday morning services had been a selling point pushed in the printed programs as a reason to attend. Part of the change may be due to the growth of the local churches. However, with a large constituency from outside the area, it seems unlikely that the local churches could handle all of the attendees. Whatever the reason, this shift was one more indicator of the declining religious nature of the Florida Chautauqua.

By contrast, the remaining program content was strongly entertainment-oriented. Seventeen musical groups and individuals and thirteen illustrated lecturers and readers provided more than one hundred ten different entertainment events, one of the largest numbers in the assembly's history, especially in comparison to the 1906 session of equal length which had only eighty entertainments, and the 1907 session with only thirty-six events. More than seventy of the 1910 events were musical, including daily musical preludes and orchestral concerts by Lanznar's Orchestra. The 1910 session also saw the return of a pyrotechnic display in connection with one of the Saturday excursion days. Individuals living around the lake and the circle were asked to illuminate their homes the same evening.

Despite the claims of the programs for 1908 and 1909 it is evident from the 1910 program that the focus of the Florida Chautauqua was on entertainment and not on religion and education. These elements were not completely absent, but their place and importance were waning again. The severely limited religious activities and the decrease in educational course offerings indicate a

Chautauqua which has moved a significant distance from the original structure and intent of the assembly. The emphasis on cultural goods of an entertainment nature make it evident that the constituency disposition for appropriating goods had shifted from education and/or religion to entertainment. Since the Florida Chautauqua was primarily a commercial venture, the promoters would have sought to schedule events which would draw consumers. If the greater length in the program and the increase in numbers engaged to perform are indicators, the shift in management thinking to “give the people what they want” from “tell the people what they want” was a success.

**1911
February 21 - April 9
Twenty-seventh Session**

With the 1911 session the Florida Chautauqua once again rewrote itself, at least in part. Education superseded entertainment, primarily as a result of the International Sunday School convention held during this assembly. The seven-week session, defined by new terminology, included several significant shifts in content and offerings.

Two themes become evident very quickly in the opening paragraphs of the printed program. The first was the Florida Chautauqua's link to other Chautauqua institutions; the second was the use of the term “best.” The program makes several statements which link or call for comparison of the Florida Chautauqua with the Chautauqua ideal or other Chautauquas around the country. The first claimed that for twenty-six years the assembly had an “annual program unsurpassed by any of the great institutions in the North and Northwest” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1911, 1). This claim was

immediately followed by the assertion that “the list of talent is built along the lines of true chautauqua work as outlined by the great mother Chautauqua of New York” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1911, 1). The inclusion of the best possible entertainment and lectures brings about a realization of the “great chautauqua idea of reaching through popular methods all classes. . . .” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1911, 1). This method of linking the Florida Chautauqua with other great Chautauquas and with the general Chautauqua ideal assisted the reader in creating a desirable text of the De Funiak Springs assembly. If the Florida Chautauqua were greater than any institution in the North or Northwest (including, presumably, the original assembly in New York), and if it were organized along the lines of the “mother Chautauqua,” then the reader could be assured of a quality program worthy of the exchange of time and money for cultural competence.

Closely related to this theme is the theme of “best” interspersed throughout the opening description. The advertisement reassured the reader that this was a first-rate program, composed of “the best in the lecture platform, the best of music, both of a classical and a popular nature, the best in entertainment. . . .” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1911, 1, emphasis added). The inclusion of the best in every category worked to instill “in the mind the desire for the best in each line, elevating, as well as entertaining, the audiences” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1911, 1, emphasis added). The use of “best” along with other adjectives such as “unsurpassed,” “great,” “largest,” “stirring,” and “skilled” created a positive image of a strong assembly.

Both of these themes are indicative of a more focused approach to the promotion of the Florida Chautauqua by its sponsors. They attempted to help the reader group the Florida assembly with a larger group of texts, some of which were probably more familiar to Northern readers. The promoters chose to focus no longer on the isolated text found in Florida. While other programs had made passing reference and minimal association with other Chautauquas, the 1911 program represented the most concerted effort along those lines of development. Ultimately the two themes indicate a determined effort by the management to advertise the Florida Chautauqua in the strongest way possible to attract additional consumers. The promoters marketed the goods (in this case, the Florida Chautauqua as a whole) in such a way as to present it in terms of other goods in the same category while at the same time illustrating the differential advantage of the Florida assembly.

This program also included a departure from the standard course offerings of the previous four years. Music still offered an emphasis on soloists, and for the first time the program supplied a reason for the elimination of the chorus class, a standard in the music department until 1907. "The old-time chorus has given place to the finished work of glee clubs, quartets, and concert companies, and the artistic product of professional soloists. . . ." (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1911, 6).

The Literature department provided a variety of instructors, including several readers and impersonators. Instead of just private instruction in elocution, the 1911 session offered a daily hour during the

first week for instruction by Dr. Byron King of King's School of Oratory in Pittsburgh. The class offered instruction in elocution, oratory, and expression.

Two other familiar departments were the illustrated travelogue and the Photography club. The introductory paragraph to the coursework section also indicated that instruction was available in Domestic Science, Health and Physical Training, Physical Culture, and Biblical Literature, although no formal descriptions were given for the courses.

One new addition to the coursework offerings was the class in Home Nursing. Presented by Dr. Geizel, this series of lectures was designed to teach "mothers and home nurses to help the doctor" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1911, 10). Dr. Geizel and her assistant were to give practical training which promoters hoped the large rural population in attendance would deem valuable.

That rural population was also the focus for another course offering: the assembly scheduled the Agricultural Department to meet March 8 through March 11. The description of the work simply indicated plans to give a series of lectures on Farms and Farm Work, with one of the lectures featuring a demonstration of farm cooking for women. The State Experiment Station and the Farmer's Institute sponsored the program. In an effort to attract as many of the Walton County farmers as possible, the Florida Chautauqua offered to give a complimentary ticket to any of the farmers who requested one.

A major addition to the educational offerings and a significant part of the program was the International Sunday School Convention

held February 26 to March 3, billed as “one of the greatest rallies ever held in West Florida” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1911, 9). The convention scheduled more than fifty sessions for this convention, thus accounting for more of the program content than any other area, including entertainment categories. For one week, the Sunday school convention comprised virtually the entire program for the Florida Chautauqua. The convention provided the management of the assembly with several benefits. They did not have to plan this convention; yet listing the offerings in the program helped create the illusion of a full assembly. The remuneration of the convention speakers was probably either entirely or at least partially covered by the convention planners, thus easing some of the financial burden on the management.

The planners designed the sessions to aid in the training of Sunday school teachers, covering many topics from history to philosophy to belief to practical application. A sampling of topics is listed below:

Religious Education: The Modern movement, Its Causes, Origin and Results in the Field of Sunday Schools

What the Sunday School may Mean to a Church

The Application of Educational Principles to the Sunday School

Practical Studies of Beginners and Primaries

Temperance Teaching of the Sunday School

Work of Officers and Committees

How to Construct and Tell a Story

The Spiritual Life of the Sunday School

History of the Teacher Training Movement

These topics, and a host of others like them, provided the expected three hundred delegates with a thorough exposure to and indoctrination in the Sunday school movement. Since these sessions were the only events offered during this time, one may presume that many of the other attendees received much of this information as well. The program billed the convention as a great opportunity for the people of De Funiak Springs and Western Florida, as well as "one of the most important gatherings ever held in this section of the Southland" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1911, 9).

The great number of lectures included as part of the Sunday school convention explains the high number of lecturers included in the listing of assembly talent. The twenty-seven different lecturers far outnumbered the fifteen musical groups/individuals and the eight illustrated lecturers and readers. Not including the Sunday School convention meetings, this session continued the decline in those events classified as religious in content with only sixteen different religious sessions listed in the program. Sundays continued the practice begun in 1910 of holding only a Vespers service and evening sermon.

This program included slightly more than fifty entertainment features, most musical in nature. The orchestra gave musical preludes for fifteen minutes in the evening before the main attractions, and daily, afternoon concerts were prominent. Moving pictures, once seen only occasionally in a program, were now regular features of the evening

sessions, sometimes comprising the sole entertainment. The program included a reduction in readings and impersonations.

One additional feature of the program content was new with the 1911 program. The writings referred to many of the lectures as "Popular Lecture." The meaning of this term and the distinction from the standard lecture is not clear from the program. Several of the popular lectures were "Billy Bray, the King's Son," "Thomas Jefferson," "Love and Matrimony," and "The Logic of Laughter." Whether the management intended these to be lighter presentations as opposed to heavy, purely educational ventures is not certain but may be a reason for the different terminology.

The 1911 session included several departures from the standard story line developed through the history of the Florida Chautauqua. Perhaps the most significant was the major influence on the program content of outside organizations such as the International Sunday School Convention and the Agricultural Rally. For the first time, sources other than the direct supervision of the assembly management generated a significant part of the offerings. Education, primarily through the convention, was the major component or emphasis of this session. In addition, that education has a distinctly religious flavor to it. The increase in education and religion is a contradiction to the strong development of the entertainment aspects of the Florida Chautauqua and the concomitant decline of education and especially of religion in previous sessions. The years from 1907 through 1911 have demonstrated an assembly in flux. The relative stability of the late 1890's and early 1900's had not been experienced since 1906.

Surrounding the assembly was a sense of constantly changing priorities and emphases. The reader was left with a text lacking a clear plot and had to settle instead for short stories somewhat incomplete in themselves as found in each year's program.

The inclusion of a variety of "practical" arts like the Home Nursing and the agricultural events, indicates a shift in what goods were deemed desirable. These were goods which were essentially non-artistic, not of the same type of education offerings seen previously. As the cultural situation shifted, the management attempted to adapt to remain profitable.

**1912
February 28 - April 7
Twenty-eighth Session**

The 1912 session illustrates yet again the Florida Chautauqua's search for a theme. The six-week assembly was somewhat lackluster in content and presentation. The struggle for an identity appears to be wearing on the institution as it sought to define itself and attract an audience. The shorter assembly and limited talent indicates that the economic base was not present to support the more extravagant assemblies seen in the past. The goods chosen by the management for the consumers had apparently not been well-received.

As recently as the 1909 and 1910 sessions, the Florida Chautauqua promoted its educational advantages and stressed its mission as an educational institution. The benefit to be gained from educational pursuits was a primary selling point with the printed programs. The 1911 season saw a modification of this concept when the printed program attempted to balance education with entertainment,

noting the advantages of both. On the other hand, the 1912 program weakly placed emphasis on the entertainment available while barely mentioning the educational opportunities.

As was typical of the printed programs, the opening paragraphs used glowing terms to describe the upcoming session. The management had hired the “best talent” available whose “laurels. . . make the program one of the best ever presented to our patrons” (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1912,1). The claim was that large crowds, “consisting of many thousand,” came each Saturday for the excursion trips.

The attempt to positively portray the upcoming session, and the strongest emphasis on the entertainment theme of the 1912 session, came in the last full paragraph on the first page.

The program is rich in male quartets, popular lectures by celebrated speakers and statesmen of our land, concerts, spectacular children’s plays, soloists, readers and humorists. The presenting of Shakespeare’s “Merchant of Venice,” and other plays, under the direction of Byron W. King of Pittsburgh, marks a *new epoch* in the life of the Chautauqua. . . .(The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1912, 1, emphasis added)

It was significant that the promoters noted that the presentation of plays marked “a new epoch” for the Florida Chautauqua. Up until this point, the platform had primarily featured solo readers and impersonators. While they may have performed selections from plays, there had never been the presentation of a full-length (or anything close to it) production of a recognized theatrical piece. The strong religious emphasis and focus of the Chautauqua in its formative years might have prohibited such activities as worldly and unbecoming to a Christian organization. Dormon observed that the Temperance movement was strongly

opposed to theater and the movement's significant presence in the Southern states as well as heavy promotion in some past assemblies would have precluded theatrical productions at the Florida Chautauqua (153). The Temperance movement was still active, including a rally during this session, but these influences apparently did not have the same cultural impact as previously. The Florida Chautauqua had now reached a point in its evolution that the religious objections were no longer a concern. The activity could now comfortably be accommodated in the assembly setting. In addition, full theatrical pieces were still fairly distinctive cultural goods, especially for those living apart from metropolitan areas like Pensacola. The management was trying to offer goods which would attract revenue.

The only significant acknowledgment of the educational opportunities was a mention of the School of Domestic Science, the continuance of which "shows growth along the more substantial lines of true educational development" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1912, 1). The apparent intent of the promoters was to cast the education available at the Florida Chautauqua in a different vein. The offerings were more "substantial" and "truer" to the educational ideal, as opposed to inconsequential and frivolous.

Other than the School of Health and Domestic Science, the education area offered very few courses. The assembly did offer music, literature, and photography again under the same format as in the past several sessions. The program still listed the Bible Study department with its usual daily format. Instead of a Children's department as in the past several sessions, this session again includes a "Children's Day."

On one of the final Saturdays of the session, the children presented "Cinderella and the Slipper."

This session offered King's School of Oratory again, on an expanded scale. The program promoted the school heavily, giving it the subtitle "Southern Institution of Expression." A one-week course in 1911, the department expanded to over three weeks with this session. The literature promoted it as "an exceptional opportunity for teachers, clergymen, students of elocution and oratory. . . as it is the only school of dramatic culture and elocution conducted by Dr. King in the Southland" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1912, 11). There were five different courses:

1. Elocution, consisting of voice culture, gesture, reading and speaking, the elements of expression.
2. Physical culture, consisting of health culture, Delsarte exercises, pantomimes, and drills.
3. A higher course, consisting of artistic recitals, monologues, impersonations, and plays.
4. Special course conducted personally by Dr. King, undertaking the cure of defective speech, hoarseness, indistinctness, stammering, and whispering (Class 4 consists of private lessons only.)
5. Juvenile classes, teaching the elements of voice culture, gestures, physical culture, reading, and recital. (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1912, 11-12)

One of the main objectives of King's school was the presentation of the plays "Taming of the Shrew" and "The Merchant of Venice" in full costume provided by King from his dramatic school in Pittsburgh. King himself wore many hats during the Chautauqua. He was in charge not only of directing plays and teaching the oratory school, but also of teaching the Bible hour in the morning. In addition, he lectured and gave readings (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1912, 17).

An analysis of the performance text supports the claim that the 1912 session emphasized entertainment while giving only cursory acknowledgment to education. The program indicated the session engaged only twenty-eight individuals or groups. The role listed nine musical entries, nine illustrated lecturers, entertainers, humorists or readers, and eleven platform lecturers, including the governor of Florida.

The program listed very few religious activities. Of the seventeen listings, all were Sunday activities, including five listings for Sunday morning church in various community churches. The Bible hour was not exempt from this decline, either. Although the program claimed that the Bible hour was a daily occurrence, almost fifty percent of the time other activities preempted it, primarily the literary hour and the School of Domestic Science. The Bible hour did not rate a high priority.

The largest number of entries related to entertainment, forty-eight of them different musical entertainments. Upon first glance, this number appears to be healthy, but further investigation reveals that over one half of these (twenty-five) were musical preludes lasting only fifteen minutes. The musical preludes were evident in past programs, but this time composed a larger portion of the musical program than in the past. Fifteen events were speech entertainments, five of them labeled "lecture recitals," while three were plays. Thirteen entertainments mixed speech and music. Four of these were moving pictures. Although I classified the pictures as entertainment, the printed program attempted to make the point that they were educational in nature.

These pictures are selected with special view to pleasing the Chautauqua audiences, and are composed of subjects representing the great operas and plays of Shakespeare, as well as the celebrated pieces of literature and mythology. Special emphasis is laid on the educational value of the films, which distinguish [sic] them from the ordinary run of picture entertainments (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1912, 23).

This disclaimer would have helped those individuals uncomfortable with the concept of watching moving pictures without the prospect of lasting value. The activity was not to be viewed as a frivolous one.

This program significantly decreased educational events separate from the coursework. Travelogues, which had experienced something of a resurgence in the recent assemblies, were missing altogether. Only fifteen other events during the six-week session could be classified as educational lectures, five of them labeled "Popular lecture." The Honorable Lou J. Beauchamp, promoted as a "humorous philosopher" and Professor Frank Jolly, a humorist, delivered them. It is conceivable and even probable that their presentations were more entertainment than educational in content.

While there was nothing to the extent of the International Sunday School Convention held in 1911, there were several special events during this session. The Women's Christian Temperance Union sponsored a rally with Beauchamp as the featured speaker. A Veteran's rally coincided with Veteran's Day celebrations and the Masons also held a rally and parade toward the end of the session. Governor A. W. Gilchrist addressed the evening rally for the Masons.

The 1912 session may be characterized as an entertainment session. The numerous preludes generally preceded other entertainments, where in past sessions they might have preceded an

educational lecture or travelogue. As a general rule, evenings were given over to entertainments, with the 11:00 a.m. or 3:00 p.m. hour featuring educational presentations. The decreased number of offerings across the board indicates a further decline in the Florida Chautauqua.

While the emphasis on education or entertainment continued to fluctuate, it is definite that religious influences and activities had become a secondary or lesser concern of organizers and promoters. The religious influence no longer prohibited the staging of theatrical entertainment. The standard Bible hour no longer held precedence over other activities.

The shifting goods represent commercial concerns. People now had easy access to newspapers and radio, expanding their horizons and limiting the value of travelogues. Thus, the management eliminated them. Twelve grades of public school had now been available nearly a decade. More and more individuals had basic educational competencies so those goods were no longer commercially viable either. The management recognized which goods were not commercially viable but had difficulty identifying which goods were viable. Failing to identify what to "sell" meant poor economic success.

**1913
February 26 - April 6
Twenty-ninth Session**

The 1913 printed program attempted to make a statement in favor of the educational emphasis for the Florida Chautauqua, but the program content leaned toward entertainment. Overall, the program

indicated a weakening of the institution with a decline in content and offerings. This decline, however, did not keep the promoters from using the printed program to aid the reader in the creation of a positive text.

The opening paragraph set forth the program's argument for the educational nature and strength of the Florida Chautauqua. "The steady growth of this great educational institution has been marked by increase in attendance, duration and length of session, superiority of attractions, and the establishment of permanent schools" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1913, 1). The program then went on to cite as examples of the permanent schools the establishment at the Florida Chautauqua of the Southern Institute of Speech Arts, Oratory, Elocution and Dramatic Culture by Dr. Byron W. King which "adds strength and influence to the Chautauqua and offers exceptional advantages to students and teachers of voice culture" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1913, 1), the School of Health and Home Nursing, and the fourth annual conference of the C.L.S.C. While it is true that these institutions, along with Palmer College and Academy, had found a home in De Funiak Springs, it is also interesting to note that the C.L.S.C., supposedly in its fourth annual conference, was not mentioned in the three preceding programs.

Some of the other claims cited by the promoters as marking the growth of the Florida Chautauqua may be subject to dispute. While the program offered no specific figures regarding the "increase in attendance," the less than enthusiastic allusions made to the Saturday excursions' attendance records may point to a decline. In the years leading up to 1906, the Saturday excursions were always heralded

without reservation for their attendance numbers. The “length and duration” of the session at six weeks, while greater than the length of the assembly during its formative years, was shorter than many of the preceding programs, which ran between seven and nine weeks. It is also possible to dispute the claim to the “superiority of attractions,” not on a qualitative basis but on a quantitative one. Variety and quantity of attractions had declined through the years.

The promoters probably knew that they were facing an institution in decline. The Florida Chautauqua was no longer a primary vehicle for the disposition of educational or cultural competence. Widespread public education through twelve years, available now for a decade, lessened the uniqueness and need of the institution. The fact that public education now included at least cursory exposure to the arts, combined with the availability of other cultural venues such as the Pensacola Opera House, meant the local audience had ready access to the arts and entertainment once available primarily through special events like the Chautauqua. The claims made above were necessary to the continuation of the institution through the recruitment of a new client base and the sustaining of the old client base. These printed claims assisted the reader in the creation of a text which may have contradicted the physical or “real” Chautauqua; however, if that text could be written successfully, it might be sufficient material to prompt the reader to attend. Helping potential attendees write a successful text was the apparent goal of the promoters in the written program. Of course, all of this activity contributed to the financial success or failure

of the assembly so it was important that the management succeed in selling these goods to the consumers.

After the opening statements about the “great educational institution,” the rest of the opening paragraph, an amount roughly equal to the first section, was dedicated almost entirely to the entertainment aspects of the twenty-sixth assembly. The first item of notice was the open-air presentation of “As You Like It” by the lake side, “an event in the history of our Chautauqua, being patterned after the out-of-door revival of the old Shakespearean Plays” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1913, 1). A variety of entertainments complemented this presentation, including

male quartets, concert and entertainment companies, soloists, readers, lecturers and humorists; impersonators, crayon artists, lecturers on travel illustrated by colored slides and motion pictures, children’s plays, comedies and dramatic sketches, and wonderful feats by Germain the magician. . . . Literature and music play an important part in the morning and afternoon entertainment (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1913, 1).

The program made virtually no allusion to educational activities and only slight notice of the Biblical hour. The primary emphasis was on entertainment.

The description, for the first time, of the auditorium’s features reinforced this propensity for entertainment. As mentioned in chapter two, the stage now boasted electric lights and “desolving [sic] color effects and footlights” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1913, 2) for use in plays and concerts. In addition, the stage was capable of holding over one hundred actors.

An analysis of the performance text supports the conclusion that the primary interest of the institution was entertainment and not

education or religion. The description preceding the various coursework departments focused on King's School of Oratory and Expression, the School of Health and Domestic Science conducted by Dr. Carolyn Geizel, and the C.L.S.C.'s literary course. Besides these selections, the only other courses are in music and photography.

The program scheduled the School of Domestic Science and Health⁶ to last one week with general lectures by Dr. Geizel at 10:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m. In addition, to accommodate the businessmen of the community, the management scheduled her for one evening session entitled "Municipal Housekeeping." The course of study dealt with "vital, up-to-date questions of health for the nation, municipality, and individual" resulting in the arousal of the "audience to interest and action in behalf of bettered health conditions" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1913, 7).

Dr. Geizel did not limit her lectures to health care. On Sunday, March 23, she delivered the Temperance Address (the first woman to give a presentation as part of a Sunday service), and on Saturday, March 22, as part of the Veterans' Day celebration, she took part in the ceremonies, delivering an address on "Woman Suffrage."

King's School of Oratory offered the other major course. The course ran for one month and, similar to 1912, included several different classes. However, the content and structure of the courses was different in 1913. The first course dealt with the elements of

⁶The program is inconsistent in the title used for this course, calling it the "School of Domestic Science and Health," the "School of Health and Domestic Science," or simply "School of Domestic Science."

expression, with emphasis on the basics of voice, gesture, and reading. The second course, called the "higher course," focused on philosophy, literary analysis, and the application of principles. The third course, labeled "life culture," emphasized physical well-being and health. A fourth course taught fencing to improve agility and response. Private lessons were available in each course.

Although this session included a full course in literature by the C.L.S.C., the program also included a description of either a different literary venture or a related activity (the program is not clear either way). The thrust of this study was the use of interpretative recitals. Byron King taught three lectures on Shakespeare through recitals. Meddie Hamilton, Jeanette Kling, Nell Atkinson, Florence Lahrmer, and Inez Todd King provided additional performances in this course. Only one lecturer, Kenneth Bruce, was not advertised as a performer.

The photography class met only for the first week of the assembly. The Bible Hour took place as usual during the 10:00 a.m. hour, although Dr. Geisel's school preempted it. One interesting change in the Bible Hour was the inclusion for the first time of a woman. Miss Addie McLemore was to give a series of Bible stories "specially [sic] acceptable to the children" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1913, 9). The only other educational note of any importance concerned Palmer College, stating that "Palmer College has succeeded the State Normal School, having acquired all of the grounds and equipment. Freshman and Sophomore course offerings from a faculty of twelve now join the academy" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1913, 14).

The entertainment offerings and other activities significantly outnumbered the educational and religious offerings. This program contained a greatly reduced number of religious offerings, with no longer any consistency with the Sunday offerings. The program had no Sunday School notice (even in local churches); the Sunday morning sermon was usually held in local churches; and frequently there was no evening sermon. Even the Sunday Vesper services changed, now called "Vesper Hour," with a specific speaker or performer for each program.

The various entertainment categories were comparable to the 1912 program in numbers., with forty-eight separate musical entertainments, although twenty-seven were short, fifteen-minute preludes. Sixteen speech entertainments included several plays by Byron King's group and a week of storytelling hour with Addie McLemore. Thirteen entertainments used a variety of mediums. A magician filled several nights as did moving pictures. The four travelogues all used moving pictures and stereopticons to illustrate and thus might also be classified as entertainment.

Another aspect of this assembly's program lent an air of entertainment to it. While not strictly entertainment, the special days had a certain pageantry about them. The Veterans' Day rally included a march by several hundred veterans from the Hotel Chautauqua to the auditorium for a short memorial service with "the balance of the day. . . given over to entertainment" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1913, 8). Along a similar vein was the Masonic Rally. The Masons also paraded from the hotel to the auditorium to hear addresses and "appropriate music

and spectacular exercises" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1913, 10). The last special activity promoted was a children's carnival on Children's Day. The carnival was under the direction of teachers at King's oratory school. All of these special activities included significant entertainment aspects.

Even the photographs included in the program suggested entertainment. They showcased a variety of subjects, including pictures of the entertainers, the arrival of excursion trains, excursions to Lake Stanley, hunting alligators by automobile, and Alpine spring. This program also included numerous outdoor scenes.

The 1913 program tipped the balance in the direction of entertainment once more. The obvious lack of educational opportunities may indicate a declining interest in one of the original hallmarks of the Florida Chautauqua. Religion had been almost eliminated from the program content, although references were still made to the subject. However, this propensity for entertainment in no way implies that the contracted talent was strong, especially when compared to previous programs from the early part of the century. Indeed, you perceive a sense that the quality of the program was degenerating as perhaps the importance of the institution declined.

This program demonstrates that the cultural scene had changed in Northwest Florida. Entertainment was more sought after than education and religion. The educational sessions represented by Geisel's school demonstrate that educational interests were changing as well. Instead of broad, foundational coursework (much of which was now available through public education or other avenues), this course

was focused on more specific material, material which could not have been easily obtained through other venues. Instruction along these lines held greater potential for commercial success.

The special days also represented an attempt by the management to affect gate receipts. The special days focused on a specific, well-defined constituency. If the program is accurate, the Veteran's and Masons' rallies attracted several hundred participants, no doubt many accompanied by family. Although only one day of the assembly, the special activities still increased gate receipts for that day and potentially exposed the attendees to the Florida Chautauqua with hopes of getting them to attend additional times.

**1915
February 24 - April 4
Thirty-first Session**

No program is extant for the 1914 session, although a session was held (the 1913 program was the twenty-ninth session, and 1915 the thirty-first, according to the printed materials). With the 1915 session the tug-of-war over the identity of the Chautauqua text continued, this time with the educational emphasis gaining strength. The return of a teacher's institute and the founding of an industrial school were just two of the facets which contributed to the resurgence of the education emphasis for the Florida assembly.

As is typical in the printed programs, the opening paragraphs of the first page made the first argument for the nature of the coming assembly's text, an overwhelming case for the historical record on education and the current educational opportunities available to the attendee:

The history of this institution forms one of the brightest pages in the record of Southern educational movements. Its influence has been great upon the community, the state and adjoining states, because the management has never once in its entire thirty years swerved from the true Chautauqua idea promulgated by the Mother chautauqua on the New York Chautauqua Lake. The foundation was laid on educational movements, and it has continued to emphasize the educational side so that a great Teachers' Institute of three days duration, was held last year and will be held again this year (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1915, 1).

Writers promoted the program content as heavily endowed with lectures on "literature, travel, economics, Biblical literature, art, elocution, story telling and their kindred subjects" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1915, 1), mentioning entertainment only after education, with the moniker "high class" attached.

The strong education emphasis came not solely through the course offerings, however, but through a combination of activities including course offerings, special rallies, and the local educational institutions now resident in De Funiak Springs. In contrast with earlier years of the Florida Chautauqua, this session had relatively few courses scheduled. Courses offered music, literature, Biblical literature, photography, the School of Oratory, and the School of Health and Domestic Science (also called the School of Health and Home Nursing).

The structure of all of the courses was like that for the past several sessions. One interesting side light was the school of oratory's recommendation of who should take their coursework:

Students, Teachers, Clergymen, Singers, Lawyers and all Voice
Users should take this course; --also
All persons who use the Voice for Expression.

- All persons who have Vocal Defects, as Sore Throat,
Hoarseness, Catarrh.
- All persons who stammer, stutter or speak indistinctly.
- All Literary Students who Love Truth and would Reveal it.
- All persons who desire Graceful Action, Ease of Carriage and
Repose.
- All persons who would Improve Health of Body and Power of
Soul (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1915, 12).

Who could not find herself/himself in one of these categories? By increasing the scope of those who would benefit, the promoters might increase attendance receipts. The fifth category is interesting in its statement of the role of vocal expression in the understanding of literature. The practice of teaching/understanding literature through the use of the recital has been common for several years in the department of literature, but has been identified only infrequently in the department of oratory/elocution.

A significant contributor to the theme of education for the 1915 session was the Educational Rally. The rally, first held in 1914, was three days long and hoped to attract as many as eight hundred teachers. "This means much to the educational movement in West Florida, and will be of inestimable benefit in creating better conditions in the schools" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1915, 9). As a side benefit, the rally hoped to add "to the power of the teachers as an organized body" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1915, 9). Speakers for the rally included the president of Stetson University, the president of the National Story Tellers League of America, and two of the top administrators from the State Board of Education. To encourage attendance, promoters gave complimentary tickets to every teacher. Since the State Normal school had moved to Tallahassee, this rally

helped the Florida Chautauqua retain its position in teacher training. The rally also provided credibility to the other educational pursuits attached to the Florida Chautauqua. In addition, the rally served the same purpose noted for the special days events in 1913 -- the rally attracted attendees who would have a direct and indirect economic impact on the assembly. Although tickets were complimentary, the attendees had to provide housing, meals, sundries and pay for rail transportation. Eight hundred free gate tickets produced significant residual economic rewards for the assembly and De Funiak Springs.

The Florida Chautauqua also closely related itself to Palmer College and Academy and Thomas Memorial Industrial School. These two institutions additionally reinforced the theme of education for the 1915 session. In its description of the two institutions, the program described De Funiak Springs as "a great educational center" and "the Athens of West Florida" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1915, 13). The program describes Palmer College as "a twentieth century institution" whose "object is to give the public an institution of learning where the people of all denominations may send their sons and daughters to be educated under Christian influences, and yet without interfering with the religious preferences of any" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1915, 13). Developers designed the Thomas Memorial Industrial School, begun in 1914, to meet "the demand for technical training, especially along industrial lines" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1915, 14), the result of the growing industrialization of the United States. While neither of these schools had direct ties to the Florida Chautauqua, the assembly managers actively invoked each to illustrate the strong educational

thrust of the assembly and its faithfulness to the Chautauqua ideal and to provide further encouragement to invest resources in attending the Florida Chautauqua.

An analysis of the performance text reveals that the mix was virtually the same in comparison with the programs of 1912 and 1913. Entertainment was at roughly the same level, with a slight increase in religious activities (Sunday schedules were more full again) and a larger increase in education primarily through activities associated with the Teachers' Institute. The Teachers' Institute also accounted for an increase in the number of personnel attached to the Chautauqua as lecturers. The session employed almost as many lecturers as musicians, illustrated lecturers (generally humorists), and readers combined.

In addition to the educational rally, the assembly also had a Children's Day, Masonic Day, and a Veteran's Day rally. The Children's Day included a baseball game for the first time "in the footsteps of the Mother Chautauqua" in hopes of making a "more popular and profitable day for the children . . . than the usual programs" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1915, 9). The programs for the special days apparently were taxing the budget of the assembly. With this session the institution began charging additional fees above the season ticket for special events, explaining that this change followed a custom instituted by the "Mother Chautauqua"⁷ made necessary by the high

⁷It is interesting to note that this is at least the third time in this program that the name of the Mother Chautauqua has been invoked. The invocation of the original assembly gave added credibility to the actions and general structure of the Florida assembly.

cost of fees paid to attractions. Rather than absorb the additional costs and hurt profits, the managers passed the costs on to the consumers. The promoters had a primary concern for economic viability.

The 1915 program was also unique for its cultural text. The assembly's apparent progressiveness was evident in race relations and especially women's rights. On March 19 Dr. Carolyn Geisel presented a lecture entitled "Relation of Philanthropy and Medicine to Race Betterment." Although the content of her speech is not known, Dr. Geisel was apparently the leader of the progressive attitude at the Florida Chautauqua. She not only gave this lecture, but on March 21 became the first woman to deliver a sermon in the auditorium, entitled "Into the Infinite."

Throughout the recent years of the Florida Chautauqua, the role of women in society was the subject of a small number of lectures. The 1915 session included a series of lectures in the department of literature by Mrs. Ida B. Cole, Secretary of the Chautauqua C.L.S.C. The purpose of this series was to discuss woman's place in the world, in education, in industry, in society, in the newspaper world, and "her place in America in contrast with her position in the Nations Across the Atlantic" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1915, 7). The series promised to look at these positions not only in light of literature but "also from the standpoint of economics and sociology" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1915, 7).

Another interesting cultural feature of the 1915 assembly was the introduction of "Old Home Week," scheduled for March 22 through March 28. Old Home Week was the idea of local businessmen that

those people who attended the Florida Chautauqua between 1885 and 1900 be given a special time to rally and meet each other again. This activity recognized the history of the Florida Chautauqua and acknowledged that the institution had reached a point in its story in which the recognition of early "pioneers" was an important activity. (A commercial aspect was also present, since the promoters were no doubt seeking additional ways to attract attendees and increase revenues.)

The 1915 session presented an interesting addition to the textual construct of the Florida Chautauqua. The session's strong emphasis on education and inclusion of additional cultural themes is just one more chapter in the continuing search for thematic unity evident in the previous decade. This program provides strong evidence of the assembly's desire to adapt to the changing cultural scene around it, while maintaining some sense of historical grounding (often evident through the invocation of the "Mother Chautauqua" theme). The Florida Chautauqua continued to make its claim as the leader in education for the Western Florida region and its neighbors. The increasing inclusion of special events recognized the fact that standard Chautauqua fare was no longer as commercially successful as it had been in the earlier years. The constantly changing offerings of cultural goods is evidence that although the promoters were attempting to identify the shifts in the cultural scene, they were not totally successful. The special events were stop-gap measure which attracted specialized constituencies but did not hold wide-spread appeal for a general audience necessary for the Florida Chautauqua to maintain economic success. The special

days attracted people but splintered the overall unity of the assembly, setting the stage for future development of the assembly along compartmentalized scheduling.

1916
March 1 - April 9
Thirty-second session

The convergence of divergent themes marked the 1916 session. The assembly contained a strong theme of nostalgia combined with a recognition and inclusion of contemporary themes, some of which had appeared before, others which were new to this session. Education appeared to be the main focus again of the Florida Chautauqua, based on this year's program in combination with the previous years. The session diminished the strong tendency displayed in recent years toward entertainment.

The nostalgia theme was apparent in several areas. The first area was the inclusion of "Old Home Night." During the 1915 session, an Old Home Week celebration allowed those patrons who had attended the Florida Chautauqua in the formative years a platform for reunion. The 1916 session limited the reunion to one evening's celebration. The Old Home Night gave the assembly the opportunity to reflect on the course of the institution since its inception. The 1916 celebration included an old-fashioned spelling match, "which in the past was an annual affair at the Florida Chautauqua" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1915, 8).

A second area in which the nostalgia theme was evident was in the religious instruction, not so much in the inclusion or shifting of religious activities (the program content is essentially unchanged from

previous years), but in the textual construct written by the printed program. In the early years of the assembly, religion played an active role in the program. Sundays were full of services and sermons, the lecture platform regularly included topics of a religious nature, and Sunday School Normal classes were routine. As noted previously, through the years this emphasis declined. Sunday services were fewer, there was no Normal training for a considerable number of years, and the Bible hour, while being retained, had been diminished. The description of the Bible hour in the printed program explicitly attempted to establish the history and centrality of this aspect of the institution, thus attempting to reestablish it as a major theme in the textual construct of the Florida Chautauqua:

The Bible Hour has ever been one of the bulwarks of the Chautauqua, and the religious side of the work which this Institution is presenting, cannot be overestimated. Many people have been brought into the churches and have since become active church members through the influence of the large Sunday night gatherings in the Auditorium (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1915, 8).

This paragraph also sought to develop the strong cultural influence of the religious events.

A closely allied area to the Bible hour and a third facet of the nostalgia theme in the 1916 program was the reintroduction of the Sunday school institute. The schedule set aside the 3:30 p.m. hour for the week of March 19 through March 26 and invited every Sunday School superintendent and teacher. The superintendents received complimentary tickets. This session was reminiscent of the Sunday school Normal training classes prominent through the early part of the century. The assembly had not had a Sunday school Teacher training

session in more than a decade. Up to that point, there was a department every year for the purpose of training Sunday school teachers, although around the turn of the century the instruction combined with the Bible study hour.

These areas give strong evidence of the nostalgia theme in this session. Even the opening paragraphs introduced this theme, claiming that the Florida Chautauqua was “one of the brightest pages in the intellectual and moral growth of this section of the Southland” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1915, 1). These paragraphs also made a strong argument for the fidelity of the Florida Chautauqua to founding principles of the institution with the claim that “the principles of the true Chautauqua movement as laid down by Bishop Vincent and the early founders of the mother Chautauqua have been strictly adhered to by the directors of this Institution in the past” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1915, 1). All of these items worked towards the creation of a text with a sense of continuity, solid foundations, and reliability. The reader could have confidence that this was a Chautauqua assembly in the truest sense of the word, one which had essentially the same character as it did at its inception.

The theme of nostalgia was juxtaposed with a theme of progress or modernism. The Florida Chautauqua was not a stagnant assembly, but one which responded to the current needs and desires of its constituency. The association with Palmer College and Academy, Thomas Memorial Industrial School as well as Carolyn Geisel's School of Domestic Science, and Byron King's School of Oratory represented the advancement and establishment of educational opportunities.

Other features of this assembly illustrated the response to contemporary events or attitudes. With the onset of World War I in Europe, the country's mind was evidently on matters of war and peace. To this end, the management planned a Peace Day with the goal of presenting "from its platform all the great movements that are at present before the public" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1915, 9). Peace Day was the result of a belief that "Universal Peace has always been, and will ever be dear to the hearts of all patriotic Americans" (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1915, 10). The management scheduled a senator and congressman to speak and plans were underway to procure someone to speak on "preparedness." Several times the description of the day emphasized that the management wanted to present both sides of the questions raised by war and peace. In addition to Peace Day, a lecture on March 4 featured Dr. Thomas E. Green speaking on "America: the World's Peace Maker."

Another new feature of the assembly was the institution of a specific Athletic Day. For several years, the Florida Chautauqua activities featured a baseball game between Palmer College and a squad from Pensacola, whose winner would claim the Chautauqua Cup. This assembly expanded the competition to include other contests, such as track and relay races.

Politics and other cogent topics were the subject of other special days. The 1916 assembly secured a lecture from Vice-President Thomas R. Marshall. Negotiations were also underway to secure a special day for William Jennings Bryan and Charles Dalmores, a leading opera tenor. Apparently they were successful in engaging

Bryan, as an insert in the program gives details of "Bryan Day" on Thursday, March 2.

Bryan's appearance came almost ten years after the presentation of his famous speech "In the Chicago Convention" better known as "The Cross of Gold" (1896) and nearly nine years prior to the famous Scopes Trial (1925). Bryan typically delivered his "Cross of Gold" speech until after the election of 1900 when he changed to topics of a religious nature. After 1900 he usually delivered one of three main speeches, "The Value of an Ideal," "The Prince of Peace," and "The Price of a Soul" (Springen, 71-73). His personal Chautauqua manager, Charles Homer, observed, "He was the best drawing card Chautauqua ever knew. He was the highest-paid lecturer and brought the most money into the box office" (Homer quoted in Springen, 73). During the height of his success Bryan delivered a speech each day for sixty to one hundred and twenty consecutive days on the summer circuit in the Midwest (Springen, 73).

The parallel themes of nostalgia and progress worked to create a text which was at once both stable and progressive. The foundational aspects of the assembly, evident through the nostalgic events, were familiar to the reader and thus provided a certain sense of security. Concomitant with this security was the interest generated by the inclusion of the new and of the cogent.

The new, however, and not the nostalgic, dominated the performance text. Entertainment continued to decline in emphasis and importance with only a dozen entertainments that included readers by themselves or in combination with musical entertainment. The program

listed many musical events, but most were minor activities such as fifteen-minute preludes. Educational lectures and special events formed the bulwark of the program. Significant time was given to the teachers' institute, the Better Baby Contest run by Dr. Geisel, the Veterans' Rally, and a rally directed by the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Athletic events, including the baseball game and Old Home night, rounded out the special activities.

The 1916 Florida Chautauqua was a mature Chautauqua, old enough to look back on its history and secure enough to attempt to adapt for its present and future. The assembly was more cosmopolitan in its construct, relying on "outside" individuals and organizations for much of its program. More of the program was a conglomerate of activities coordinated by the management and less of the program was actually contracted and created by the management, as illustrated by the reliance on organizations such as Palmer College, King's School of Oratory, and Geisel's School of Domestic Science. These organizations probably planned their presentations and submitted the information for the program instead of the management's creating the sessions. The essential textual construct of the Florida Chautauqua as text was the same, yet different. The stated goals of the assembly remained essentially unchanged, but the methodology for achieving those goals and creating the text changed from earlier assemblies. Bryan, and probably Marshall, were strong drawing cards who would have generated significant gate receipts. They also illustrated further the trend towards individual events as opposed to attractions for the whole assembly time.

**1917
March 7 - April 7
Thirty-third Session**

The program for the 1917 session represented a radical departure from past assemblies. Whereas past printed programs were approximately forty-eight pages in length, this printed program is only twenty-four pages long. The content and structure is vastly different.

The front matter is almost non-existent. In the past, the front matter usually included two pages of general introduction, focusing primarily on the current year's program. This program has less than one page and is generic in content. The printed material included none of the standard paragraphs present since the end of the last century; so there is no information about accessibility, the lakes, the water, accommodations, or excursions. The list of talent was a single, half-page list of names, compared to individual paragraph descriptions for each entertainer or lecturer as in the past. There also was no listing for coursework and no indication in the detailed program that there were any classes offered.

Classifying this session using the same themes as previous years is difficult. Approximately one week of Bible study evidently replaced the daily Bible hour from past seasons. This session had fewer than forty musical events, primarily preludes and orchestral concerts. The rest of the entertainment consisted of several plays and movies. The five-week session included only ten educational lectures. Most days offered only two or three activities, including a 3:00 p.m. concert or Bible study and an evening entertainment usually consisting of a musical prelude and lecture or entertainment. The only special

events were a one-day meeting of the West Florida Cattlemen's Association, a Veterans' Rally, and the athletic events including the annual baseball game between Palmer College and Pensacola.

The printed program gave no explanation for the radical change in content and presentation. Probably the war had extensively impacted that session. Many men have been called into service, and conservation of goods was necessary. In addition, another hurricane in 1916 might have still had lingering effects on the area. The Florida Chautauqua as a text recoverable from this printed program is an outline of previous textualizations but with no clearly developed themes. The program was a thinly veiled attempt at continuity for an institution in serious difficulties. Despite the claim that the assembly had not "swerved from the true Chautauqua idea promulgated by the Mother Chautauqua," (The *Florida Chautauqua*, 1917, 1) the program content argued otherwise. The assembly had moved far afield from the vibrancy present in all but a very few previous assemblies. The original program in 1885 defined the Chautauqua as having three seminal facets: rest, recreation, and instruction. While it is possible to identify each of these facets in 1917, they only minutely reflect those areas as originally included and embellished through the founding and flourishing years of the De Funiak Springs assembly.

1918
March 4 - April 6
Thirty-fourth Session

No extant program is available for 1918. A six-week session was held from March 14 through April 6. One observer writing in the *Pensacola News Journal* summarized the session by saying,

“Notwithstanding that there have been many disappointments, it has been very much enjoyed by those who have been attending”
(*Pensacola New Journal*, 6 April 1918, 6.).

1919
March 6 - April 2
Thirty-fifth session

The four week session of 1919 further illustrated the decline of the Florida Chautauqua. The small, fourteen page printed program was primarily advertisement with sparse information on the program content. For the 1919 session the Florida Chautauqua consisted of night activities only, with no indication of any coursework. In fact, the only strictly educational activity was a lecture the first week by a Dr. William Carter. The program did not list the subject but indicated that the lecture would last one hour, followed by entertainment by the Ward Waters Company. The remainder of the evenings were given over to a limited variety of entertainments. Eight of the evenings were films. Sundays offered sacred concerts with the other evenings filled with regular concerts by several musical groups, magicians, readers, impersonators, and two evenings of presentations by Prof. Burnell Ford, “the Great Electrical Wizard” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1919, 2). In all, the session employed only eleven groups and individuals.

The meager program clearly indicated the lack of interest in the Florida Chautauqua. The assembly had lost its earlier vitality and was no longer able to foster a desire for cultural goods or adequately meet that desire. Commercially, the wide variety of coursework, entertainment and other activities were no longer economically viable ventures. The management was unable to identify unique cultural

goods to provide which would draw customers. The public's preoccupation with war-related matters only compounded the difficulties.

According to DeBolt, the 1920 Florida Chautauqua, the thirty-sixth season, was the institution's final gathering in the form so familiar to everyone for over a third of a century. Attempts by the Bruce family (a family involved in running the Florida Chautauqua through much of its history) to revive the Chautauqua in 1926 and 1927 were unsuccessful (DeBolt, *F.E.H. Forum*, 10). An extant printed program of the 1926 session reveals an assembly which only marginally reflected the great assemblies of the early 1900s. Sessions were held on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday for three weeks with a limited offering, primarily entertainment.

Conclusion

With these sessions, the Florida Chautauqua as text reached a finale. The concluding years disclosed a constant search for a theme that would sustain the text. The commercial theme so strongly evident through most of the Florida Chautauqua's existence was still present, but without the exuberance once detected in earlier years. One is aware of a sense that it has become much more difficult for the management to supply the reader with the materials needed to create a desirable text. The world of 1920 was vastly different from the world of 1885. Travel to exotic locations was no longer only for the very wealthy. Radio and newspapers brought news of events in a more timely fashion. World War I would have affected the Chautauqua because it drew revenue and attendance away to other areas. The

New York Chautauqua was hit hard by the war also and only through carefully crafted plans was able to recover after the war (Irwin, 87).

Education in the public sector was more readily available and reliable. For the school year ending July 1, 1914, Escambia county (where Pensacola is located) employed 184 teachers who taught more than seven thousand students in seventy-five schools. By contrast, in 1903, when the Blount bill passed, 115 teachers taught fewer than five thousand students in sixty-six schools (McGovern, 43). By 1915 Pensacola High School had added dramatics and an orchestra, by 1918 courses in industrial arts and home economics. By 1920, four locations in Escambia county taught high school subjects (John Appleyard Agency, 29). By 1920 public schools were graduating more students with twelve grades of study because of the Blount bill. This situation meant that fewer educational goods were needed at the Florida Chautauqua. In addition, more parents had children in school during the February session, making it difficult to attend the lengthy sessions. The public education system was a more powerful good with a greater return than the Florida Chautauqua.

Entertainment in the form of moving pictures was more accessible. By 1913 Pensacola had five playhouses—the Empress, Bonita, Isis, Star, and Bijou. These houses presented films and vaudeville entertainment for families. Prices were much cheaper also—five, ten, fifteen and twenty cents as compared to \$1.00, \$1.50 and \$2.00 for some opera house attractions (Bilbo, 45). The proliferation of entertainment would have been duplicated in numerous cities across the region. These goods were now cheaper and more

easily appropriated at home than at the Florida Chautauqua. A world war had taken thousands of men to places across the sea. The Florida Chautauqua was now an outdated enterprise unable to adapt. Although it had gone through several successful revisions, it could no longer be revised to meet the need of the current readers. The management was unable to identify a unique class of goods to offer that were commercially viable.

The final period of the Florida Chautauqua represents the struggle of the institution to maintain a purpose. After the turn of the century the Northwest Florida panhandle changed rapidly. The 1903 Blount education bill made education more accessible to more people for a longer period of time. Local entertainments were also more readily available. All of these factors combined to mean that the Florida Chautauqua, as it had been established and run for years, was no longer able to meet a unique need. The general populace now had a more common cultural base. The Chautauqua would no longer need or be able to create a disposition to recognize value in cultural goods, but even more devastating to the assembly was the fact that the Florida Chautauqua was no longer necessary (in its customary form) to provide competence in appropriating the goods. This duty was being met by other, more accessible institutions. The diversification of education and entertainment in a variety of venues meant that there was no longer a need for a centralized delivery vehicle, namely the Florida Chautauqua.

CHAPTER 6

Changing Themes, Commercial Failure, and the Decline of the Florida Chautauqua

Throughout the thirty-six year history of the Florida Chautauqua, the assembly experienced numerous transitions and shifts resulting in a text most easily recoverable in terms of the predominant themes present at any given time. An analysis of the printed programs and newspapers allowed me to examine the emphasis of the promoters in both their descriptions of the Chautauqua (generally located in the front matter of the printed program) and the actual content of the assembly. The two accounts did not always coincide.

By placing the individual events listed in the printed program in varying categories, I could more easily identify the performance text of a specific year's session through a quantitative measure. Most of the categories were relatively stable throughout the years in definition and inclusion. The first category, religion, covered the same material throughout the years. In the early years, the category included not only Sunday School and church services, but Vespers, song services, and religious lectures. Through the years, the quantity decreased significantly in relation to the overall content of the program. By the last years, the only items in this category were limited Sunday services.

The second category, musical entertainment, remained constant in definition through the years, as did the third category, speech entertainments. Concerts, preludes, and individual recitals composed the music category. Elocutionary activities, readings, impersonations, and later plays composed the speech entertainment.

The fourth category combined the second and the third for mixed entertainment. Originally this category was restricted to entertainments that included both music and speech (for example, a vocalist and a reader/impersonator). Often there were multiple performers from each area. As the Chautauqua progressed, this category had to be more flexible in definition. In the middle and later years, this category expanded to include activities such as moving pictures, crayon artists, and vaudeville-type performances including magicians and Indian-club swingers.

The fifth category became less prominent after the early period of the Chautauqua. The assembly placed less emphasis on travelogues, which were very popular in the early years, as the audience became more worldly-wise and as the automobile and moving pictures made more locales less than exotic.

The sixth category, literary education, also declined in importance through the years. The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle was important to the development of the entire Chautauqua movement, including the Florida Chautauqua. While it was never fully put aside (even in late assemblies representatives from the C.L.S.C. conducted sessions), the literary aspects were not a focal point in the later years. The method of studying literature also shifted to include

more performance-based inquiry. Beginning with S. H. Clark's Interpretative Recitals in the 1895 session, various lecturers and performers combined performance with instruction in literature. Clark lectured on a particular literary element and then demonstrated that element in performance. The program recognized this method as "a new departure in the study of literature" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1895, 5). This type of performance-lecture appeared sporadically through the years. The 1908 and 1909 session approached literature through performance as well, with the 1909 program explaining "the highest expression of art is to attain a correct interpretation of the great masterpieces of literature . . . Literature and elocution are therefore closely allied; the first furnishes the material, the second the mode of expression" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1909, 8). Interpretative recitals were offered again in connection with literature in the 1910 session. The listing of instructors in the 1911 literature department included several readers and impersonators. One of the primary goals of King's School of Oratory in 1912 was presentation of two plays, "Taming of the Shrew" and "The Merchant of Venice." These patterns continued through much of the remaining history of the Florida Chautauqua and were harbingers of the general direction of the field of elocution/oral interpretation in future years.

The Chautauqua classwork education category, number seven, remained a constant throughout the assembly's history, although the coursework varied dramatically. Throughout the years there was always some kind of class offering in music, literature, elocution (Delsarte, physical culture, expression, etc.), and Bible and/or Biblical

literature. Through the years the instruction varied, including such topics as needlework, cooking, home nursing, photography, stenography, and Phonography. Of particular note in the general education category are the normal classes, both secular and Sunday School, which were prominent features in the formative years. It is significant that these instructional classes, which were foundational to the Chautauqua movement in general and the Florida Chautauqua in particular, were eventually phased out of the program.

The eighth category served as a general repository for educational activities which did not appear to fall into the other classifications. The category remained constant through the history, composed primarily of lectures, both serious and humorous.

There were a limited number of events classified as special causes. Short conventions were held sporadically through the assembly's history including the Forestry congress, Teachers' institutes, the World Congress of Religion, and agricultural congresses. Other groups held rallies and special meetings, such as veterans' and Masonic rallies, the Women's Christian Temperance Union meetings, and farmers' rallies.

The final category encompassed events that could not be clearly identified with one of the other categories or whose content was unclear. This category included certain presentations/lectures, informal receptions, excursions, and fireworks displays.

Beyond the analysis and categorization of the session's content, the front matter provided key insights into the construction of the text on a yearly basis and in the identification of which cultural goods would be

marketed to consumers. The programs and newspaper through 1896 varied significantly from year to year in format and content. Generally they were newsy in their presentation, giving information via a format reminiscent of a hometown newspaper. The newspapers especially were known for little gossip-like paragraphs, as well as longer informative selections. Their purpose, however, was consistent through those years: to provide the reader with the themes and support necessary to construct a positive textual representation of the Florida Chautauqua which would translate into attendance and thus gate receipts for the management. The front matter significantly contributed to the creation of a disposition to recognize value in cultural goods and prepared the reader to recognize that the disposition could be satisfied through the appropriation of goods represented in the scheduled events which followed these paragraphs.

With the 1897 program the format was standardized, with very little change through the 1916 program. This front matter consisted of opening paragraphs that usually highlighted the upcoming session, giving the theme for the year and therefore offering the quickest interpretations. As in any advertising, these paragraphs were important to the promoters in their quest to gain the attention and interest of the reader. They immediately created a backdrop for the remaining content of the program. New features could be highlighted, such as special rallies, new facilities, special teachers or lecturers, or other special events. Of particular importance were the claims made in these paragraphs. With regularity the promoters proclaimed the success of the institution, its impact on the town of De Funiak Springs or the

southeastern United States, the religious, educational, or entertainment value of the assembly, or the institution's likeness to the more familiar Mother Chautauqua in New York. Frequently, the writers linked attendance at the Florida Chautauqua to cultural status, those in attendance viewed as cultured individuals from the best families. Again, this type of promotion contributed to the potential attendees' perception of the value of the goods, and, the management hoped, to commercial success.

From the beginning through the years at the turn of the century, the opening paragraphs also described Lake De Funiak, pronouncing it "a marked feature of our Continent" (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1900, 2). They also described the general area, attaching titles such as "Adirondacks of Western Florida" and "A Little Venice." Superlatives and hyperbole were common devices in this section, as the mood was set for the remaining printed materials.

Following the opening paragraphs, a number of standard paragraphs provided ancillary information about the Florida Chautauqua. "The Water" boasted of the "absolute purity and curative qualities" of the local waters (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1899, 4). This claim was important in a day when local municipalities still could not count on a potable water supply with regularity and when malaria and yellow fever were still fairly common in the South. "Accessibility" promised the attendee ease of access from all points northward. "Approaches" promoted the railroads as the best means of travel, with departure from all the major northern cities (New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington) and special ticket prices for those attending

the Florida Chautauqua. The traveler was assured that “one day you leave the snow banks and biting winter of the North: the next day you are in ‘The Land of Flowers.’ In February you find the peach and the pear trees all in bloom, and the thermometer pointing somewhere between seventy and eighty” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1897, 4).

There was clear commerciality inherent in these paragraphs, as a major profit center not directly under the Florida Chautauqua's control was railroad receipts.

The paragraph “Accommodations” promoted the Hotel Chautauqua as “admirably kept. . . fitted with modern conveniences, and furnishes every possible comfort to its guests” (*The Florida Chautauqua*, 1900, 3). Additional accommodations were available in other unnamed hotels, and in later years, the list included private cottages and homes. The advertisement of hotels benefited their proprietors.

For those in the general vicinity, there was also a paragraph describing the popular Saturday excursions. Several thousand people would take one-day train excursions to the Florida Chautauqua from Pensacola in the west to River Junction in the east. These excursions accounted for the unusually strong program content on those days, and recognized the economic possibilities in a group who could not devote long periods of time to the assembly, but who could be convinced that there was value in exchange for time and money to appropriate a limited number of goods. For several years, Wednesdays were given over to excursions for those in attendance, allowing them to explore

local scenery such as the Scots settlement in south Walton county and local lakes.

Later editions of the printed material added paragraphs describing Alpine Park and Pastimes and Sports. The consistency of these paragraphs and their content provided a stable theme for the Florida Chautauqua. Only minor changes appeared in the paragraphs from year to year, and some paragraphs were repeated verbatim for years. The paragraphs served to provide details for the text that the opening paragraphs and program content could not provide.

Individuals who came to the Florida Chautauqua would have to exist in a space. Northwest Florida was still relatively untamed and definitely sparsely settled even into the latter years of the assembly. Those who would attend needed to be convinced that they would not have to “rough it” if they attended this institution. These paragraphs dismissed some of the ideas of remoteness that might have been associated with the location, thus assuring the traveler of safety and comfort. At the same time, the openness and lack of dense population centers provided significant reason to attend and leave behind the urban life of the Northern cities. These paragraphs balanced the two views. They allowed the construction of a text which was assuring, yet exciting. Combined with the other general information, as well as the program content and descriptions, this material allowed the reader to create a text which at one time would both create a cultural need and provide a means to satisfy that need.

The Florida Chautauqua as text may best be described in terms of the three primary overt themes and the one overriding covert theme

presented through the written materials. The first three themes are always present, although the degree of emphasis varied through the assembly's history. The major paradigmatic theme was also evident throughout, although it was more evident in the later years, particularly after 1897.

The three primary, overt themes are religion, education, and entertainment. The 1885 program with its definition of Chautauqua first introduced these themes. The idea that the Chautauqua should contain these three elements was carried throughout the entire history of the De Funiak Springs institution. No one theme received precedence in this definition. The precedence came through the analysis of the front matter and the program content as identified by the categories discussed earlier.

The theme of religion received precedence in the first program through the importance given to the Sunday school convention and through declarations regarding the observance of the Sabbath. Religion was a predominant theme during the first period of the Florida Chautauqua, roughly 1885 through 1897. Education followed closely the theme of religion in importance. Much of the emphasis on religion could be traced to the movement's roots in Methodism and in the founders, Heyl and Vincent. The training of Sunday school teachers was a motivating force behind the entire movement and was adopted by the Florida Chautauqua as evidenced by the conventions and normal classes which regularly marked the program.

Religion was also evident through the inclusion of numerous lectures with religious topics. Missionaries shared conversion stories,

Bible teachers taught general sessions on evangelism and society and religion, and others presented travelogue-type lectures on the land of Palestine.

A daily devotion hour, later called the Bible hour (among other things), was an almost permanent feature of the program. In the founding years of the Florida Chautauqua every day began with a devotional hour, which generally meant that everyone attending had one session in the auditorium or amphitheater and listened to a Bible scholar. Through the years other activities often supplanted the sessions. Sometimes the devotion hour would meet for one or two weeks of the session and then share the time with special meetings; nonetheless, the program always included some kind of Bible hour.

The early period of history also included several years of training specifically for ministers. The first session had a School of Theology and the second an Institute of Christian Philosophy. Other years included Greek and Hebrew classes and loosely organized theology institutes.

Always, Sunday activities supported the theme of religion. Sunday school, either on-site or in local churches, a morning sermon in the Tabernacle, afternoon Vesper services, evening song services, and sermons were standard offerings through the first half of the assembly. The placement of these events sometimes changed, but the content was generally constant. One year Sunday school was held in the afternoon, and another year the evening included a young people's meeting.

Religion was an integral part of the Florida Chautauqua. One cannot reconstruct any kind of textual abstraction without including religion. This theme informed early thought and action and the institution's many programs cited it as a foundational principle.

The program content makes it evident that the cultural goods which were most readily marketable in the beginning were religious. The South had a strong religious base and in making the assembly economically viable, the management must have recognized that religious goods would be the easiest to market. The promoters could more readily create a disposition in the minds of potential southern attendees to recognize value in these goods than in any other category of goods. The creation of the proper disposition was especially important, since there was an indication that many of the local residents were unfamiliar with even the Chautauqua movement in general. Attendees would come to satisfy their need for religious goods and in the process be exposed to differing categories of goods. That exposure along with the exposure received through other local venues would prepare the way for a shift in emphasis.

The importance of religion was not constant, however. Starting near the end of the nineteenth century and continuing through the end of the assembly, religion slowly deteriorated as a dominant theme. Sunday activities lessened so that the program in some years had only one sermon. Outside of Bible classes or devotional hours, there were no general, religiously-oriented lectures given to the public with any kind of regularity after the turn of the century. Religion was always

present, but it gradually lessened in its domination of the program content.

Education was the other strong theme that formed the initial outline for the Florida Chautauqua. The importance of education rivaled religion from the very beginning. In addition to Sunday school normal classes, regular Normal classes, including those for Kindergarten, were conducted with each assembly through approximately the first fifteen years. Teachers could receive training and write exams for certification through the auspices of the Florida Chautauqua, thus meeting an important need for certified teachers in the Northwest Florida and South Alabama arena. When the State White Normal School (later Florida State University) located in De Funiak Springs, this activity decreased.

Normal training was not the primary vehicle for education at the Florida Chautauqua, however. There were far more offerings of other general coursework for the average attendee. While the specific offerings varied through the years, the general department of coursework is one of the most stable elements in the Florida Chautauqua. Music, literature, speech, and art were common departments, but instruction was also available at various times in cooking, needlework, wood burning, Phonography, stenography, photography, and home nursing. This instruction was a central principle to the Chautauqua movement, providing attendees the opportunity to enrich themselves while also vacationing. The perception of the enriching value of the coursework would have been central to the ability to attract individuals to attend. Undoubtedly,

instruction in many of these subject areas would have been available to these people more conveniently through private teachers, improved public schools, local clubs and other sources, but the combination of instructors, topics, and peripheral activities would help to convince someone to exchange goods, both monetary and otherwise, for these opportunities. The printed program aided in the construction of a text that would lead to that result.

Education was also available to the attendee through the numerous general lecture sessions which were held. These lectures were more popular in the first period of the assembly, although they continued throughout all of the years. Although no specific documents are available to verify the content of these lectures, their titles give some indication of the expanse of knowledge and the array of topics. Lectures had such titles as "Geology," "Franklin's Kite, or Electrical Story and Phenomena," "Manhood, its Pattern and Inspiration," "The History and Literature of the Creoles of Louisiana," "Physical Education: hints on bathing, breathing, bicycling, care of teeth; exercises in arm and leg muscles," and "Home Life in Dixie During the War." Often the topics appear to be practical instruction for life in that day. Current events also affected the lectures. During the latter period of the Florida Chautauqua, presentations on women's suffrage and peace and war topics related to World War I were frequently part of the program. As with religion, it was also easier initially for the promoters to create and satisfy a need for educational goods than for entertainment goods. As public education became more readily accessible to younger children, adults would also experience a desire for education. The Florida

Chautauqua met that need with its coursework. The classes were generally subjects not yet available in a public school setting until well after the turn of the century. Once education, especially public school education, became broader in its scope the Florida Chautauqua no longer could create or meet a unique need. For example, public high schools increased offerings in music, literature, speech, and art as the nation approached 1920. With this bulwark of the Florida Chautauqua available on a more widespread basis to more people, they were no longer viable goods for the management to offer.

Increasingly through the years lecturers included in the program were identified as humorists. This shift in lecturers accompanied a similar shift in the thematic emphasis of the Florida Chautauqua. Beginning with the 1898 assembly, the Florida Chautauqua focused its attention and energy on the entertainment theme.

In an apparent recognition of the necessity of popular entertainment in order to obtain economic viability, the promoters shifted emphasis from religion and/or education to entertainment (see DeBolt). The shift was dramatic and rapid, appearing in the 1898 session in strong contradistinction to the 1897 session and earlier assemblies. This was the central theme of the middle period of the Florida Chautauqua between 1898 and 1906. The shift was apparently appropriate, as the assembly experienced rapid growth from a four-week meeting to a nine-week session in 1906.

From the beginning the Florida Chautauqua included entertainment. Singers, readers, and concert companies played a minimal role in the overall content, a role that expanded as the turn of

the century approached. The number of soloists, quartets, concert companies, and readers increased, supplemented by additional entertainment venues, including vaudeville acts and later moving pictures. The fact that the Florida Chautauqua could so quickly and successfully shift to this class of goods indicates there was already a predisposition to this category of goods among the consumers. The opening and success of such ventures as the Pensacola Opera House helped create a constituency that was more culturally literate and thus more easily persuaded to expend time and money to appropriate the goods available through the assembly.

The public apparently responded to the shifting theme. Attendance increased, according to reported attendance for Saturday excursions. The final period of the Florida Chautauqua, however, found the assembly searching for an appropriate theme. On an almost yearly basis the promoters fluctuated between entertainment and education. One year even had a strong religious flavor to it. The fluctuating theme probably resulted from a standardization of the cultural knowledge base of the Florida Chautauqua constituency. Initially entertainment at the Florida Chautauqua was still unique, not easily attainable through other means. As the 1910's progressed, entertainment became more widespread and more easily appropriated. The Florida Chautauqua was no longer unique and therefore the management was constantly trying to identify a class of goods that consumers would buy. Thus the themes fluctuated regularly.

Inherent in all of the themes and their employment in the textual construct known as the Florida Chautauqua is the underlying theme of

commerciality. Despite its claims to be dedicated to education or religion or entertainment, the Florida Chautauqua was, at its very heart, a commercial enterprise. Of necessity the assembly had to make money to survive.

The commerciality was identifiable through several avenues in the printed programs. As has been demonstrated, the front descriptive matter played an important role in the development of a positive text for the reader. Using superlatives and hyperbole, the promoters through the program sought to influence readers by convincing them that their outlay of goods would be amply rewarded by the goods and services to be received in return. These materials presented a product for sale.

The commerciality was also evident in the inclusion of train schedules and rates. From the very first program through the last, it was evident that the railroads benefited from the Florida Chautauqua. This is no surprise, since Chipley's primary job was with the railroad. The railroad stood to gain monetarily if the Florida Chautauqua were successful.

The increasing amount of advertising also points to the commercial nature of the program and its representation of the Florida Chautauqua. Initially the advertising consisted of national firms in New York or Cincinnati, but as the town of De Funiak Springs grew and as the Florida Chautauqua established itself, the amount of local advertising increased. It was not uncommon for fifteen or more pages of the forty-eight page booklet to be devoted to advertising.

The very fact that the themes did shift also points to the economic realities of the institution. To be viable, the Florida Chautauqua had to

respond to the public's demands and desires. The assembly was moderately successful through its initial years, because the cultural situation in Northwest Florida provided an environment where the Chautauqua could create a market and sell consumers goods not readily available elsewhere. The Florida Chautauqua's demise may be at least partly attributed to the inability to provide a unique service of substantial value to attract individuals. The public's needs could now be met through other sources. As a commercial venture the only way for the Florida Chautauqua to survive was to attract consumers on a broad enough basis to support the financial outlay necessary to present a program. The widespread availability of cultural goods previously available only through the Florida Chautauqua or other, limited sources translated into less commercial success for the Florida Chautauqua. The primary vehicles offering increased access to goods were public education and the proliferation of commercial entertainment ventures. The 1903 Blount education bill in Florida had significant long-term impact on the assembly. Children received longer training in more subjects, some of which were traditionally mainstays of the Florida Chautauqua (music, literature, speech, drama, art). As they became adults they already possessed cultural knowledge previously the domain of the Florida Chautauqua.

Commercial entertainment venues also impacted the public. Clubbs noted that by the turn of the century people had more discretionary income and time. They were able to spend them at opera houses and movie theaters, again acquiring a good previously reserved for the Florida Chautauqua. Unable to adapt by providing

unique, desired goods or by supplementing and complementing these other sources the Florida Chautauqua was destined to fail.

The Florida Chautauqua as an institution was strongly based on the relationship between art competence and education referred to by Bourdieu (233-234). This union provided the two principles so central to the structural composition of the Florida Chautauqua: the creation of a disposition to recognize a value in cultural goods and the subsequent competence achieved by making it possible to appropriate those goods. The printed programs largely accomplished the first principle, the creation of a culturally attuned disposition. The promoters made the programs available in advance of the assemblies for the express purpose of creating interest and desire in the potential audience. If their purpose had been to serve simply as daily guides or information packets, the promoters could have waited until patrons arrived in De Funiak Springs. On the contrary, from the start the programs were a vital tool in attracting an audience.

The printed programs would have affected two groups in terms of the 'disposition' Bourdieu describes. The first group consisted of those individuals whose recognition of value in cultural goods was undeveloped or essentially nonexistent. The awakening of this disposition was accomplished in several steps. The first step was the establishment of parameters for what constituted a "cultural good." The *de facto* definition was established by what was (and, therefore, was not) included in the program content. By virtue of inclusion the administration of the assembly deemed an activity or event a 'good' to be made available for appropriation. The printed program described

the various goods. I discussed the primary emphasis of goods in each time period above as it was revealed as themes.

With the parameters established, the task turned to the next step, the attachment of value to those goods by the individual/attendee. In dealing with the uninitiated, the printed program had to rely solely on description. This reliance on description explains the seeming overuse, by modern standards, of hyperbole. The good had to hold more value for the individual than other goods already appropriated. For a population that was frequently uneducated or poorly educated, restricted in travel to a local area, and lacking widespread exposure to other cultural vehicles, creating valuable goods in the beginning often meant starting with the very basics. They had limited understanding of the construct of these goods and thus needed the lengthy descriptions of activities. The establishment of credentials for performers, teachers, and lecturers was necessary to aid the reader in successfully understanding and attaching value to goods. Statements regarding who could benefit from participation were usually broad enough in structure to include almost everyone, yet stated with enough specifics to encourage all readers to include themselves in the grouping. (For example, see the description for the School of Oratory in the 1915 program listing who would benefit from the class. Virtually everyone could identify with one or more categories.) All of these statements came together (it was hoped) to successfully awaken the desire for these goods. The test of the materials' impact came when the individual chose whether or not to attend the Florida Chautauqua.

The second group affected by the printed programs in terms of disposition were those individuals who already had at least cursory interest in cultural goods. The second group needed the same process as the first group, except in a heightened sense. The second group would move quickly beyond accepting the goods as culturally desirable. The duty of the printed program then was to convince people that they had a need which must be met and that the Florida Chautauqua was a more desirable means of meeting that need than other venues like local opera houses, schools, and churches.

With the disposition activated within both groups of individuals the second principle upon which the Florida Chautauqua rested came into play: providing competence which gives meaning to the disposition by making it possible to appropriate the goods. The planners of the Florida Chautauqua put together a varied program that met a variety of needs. As has been demonstrated, each primary category of goods was always available although at different levels of emphasis. The availability of multiple goods meant that an individual had great potential of at least partially satisfying a need no matter what category it fell under.

Not only did the planners try always to meet at least minimal needs, they attempted to identify the area of greatest need and programmed the assembly along that line. When the promoters believed more people would recognize value in religious cultural goods, they included more lectures, classes, or other events to meet that need. Normal classes, lectures on general topics, special conventions and other similar activities were prominent in the years

when educational cultural goods were more highly valued. Likewise, when entertainment goods became more highly valued, the assembly saw an increase in concerts, preludes, readers, impersonators, and plays. There were even times when the promoters tried to satisfy two categories simultaneously. Education and entertainment were combined in events like the popular lectures, while religion and entertainment were combined by including singers or readers in evening programs and later in the Sunday services. When the planners were no longer able to identify which goods would satisfy dispositions, the Florida Chautauqua floundered.

The Florida Chautauqua also tried to make it possible to appropriate goods by removing, or at least limiting, obstacles. In the early years, in an attempt to attract ministers, costs were reduced by allowing the men to donate goods to a community chest for food. Those who could not afford the train ticket were given assistance. Frequently throughout its history, the Florida Chautauqua made free tickets available to selected groups such as teachers, school superintendents, or farmers to encourage them to attend special events.

The Saturday excursions were another example of removing obstacles to make the goods more accessible. While the Saturday excursions were strongly commercial, they also provided many people the opportunity to be exposed to these goods who might not otherwise have attended. Some would be unable financially to attend longer periods of time, while others would have other obligations which would not permit extended absences. The Saturday programs, packed with

content, provided maximum exposure for minimal expenditure of time and money. Removing the obstacles also translated into economic rewards.

The final period of the Florida Chautauqua is marked by fluctuation in the goods made available and eventually the demise of the institution. The organizers of the assembly were unable to successfully identify goods which would attract an audience. The assembly lost its uniqueness as a delivery vehicle for cultural goods in the Northwest Florida marketplace. The themes presented in the past which had helped raise the consciousness of readers towards the value of a class of cultural goods no longer were successful. The competency level of the available audience varied vastly from earlier years. The lack of ability to identify a class of goods which the Florida Chautauqua could uniquely supply (either through quality of instruction or because of limited resources, for example) led to the demise of the institution.

Implications of Study

A study of the Florida Chautauqua is important for what it reveals about several areas, primarily the area of southern cultural life. The changing cultural goods offered at the yearly assembly reflect changes taking place throughout the south as the region fully recovered from the Civil War and entered the twentieth century. The individuals in the region, who at first were even unfamiliar with the term "Chautauqua," came to embrace the institution's offerings as they supplemented local life. The shifting themes from religion to education to entertainment may also provide important insight into the changing values of the

people. Strongly religious coming out the Civil War, Southerners gradually recovered economically and moved on to other matters. Initially they placed primary importance on education. The poorly structured public school system with limited availability evolved into a twelve year system offering not just basic instruction but elective instruction in areas that improved life. A more leisurely life left more time for pleasurable activities, and entertainment took a more central role in life. The Florida Chautauqua both contributed to and benefited from these changes. A study of the Florida Chautauqua reveals the role the assembly played, at least in part, in the development of Southern Life.

The study also provides insight into the area of education. The educational offerings of the Florida Chautauqua by design supplemented the populace's knowledge base. Courses provided not basic education but rather expanded knowledge beyond the basics. Structured teaching situations and experiential contact combined to provide training in music, art, elocution, and literature. Participants in the Florida Chautauqua attended concerts and participated in choral groups thus appropriating the rules for art through repeated contact. General lectures also provided important educational training, offering tremendous variety of topics through the lecture system, providing the attendees with wide exposure to subjects not readily available to the average person. The travelogues provided a similar service, introducing participants, who would otherwise be unable to go, to new locales through description and pictures. Equally important to this study is the observation that as this material became more readily

available through other media (public school system, local organizations, etc.), the need for the Florida Chautauqua to provide the information became less important and meant that the assembly had to adjust. This study revealed that education in a variety of areas was important to individuals who attended the Florida Chautauqua, but also that the emphasis and importance shifted through the years.

A study of the Florida Chautauqua has implications for other institutions today. Every institution is involved in "selling" a good. Whether those goods are education (like colleges and universities), theater, performance art, dance, or poetry readings, if the institution is to be successful (both economically and/or by meeting its mission), the organization must be able to attract a constituency. The organization must be able to develop within its constituency the disposition to acquire a good, as described by Bourdieu, and then satisfy that disposition with its goods. Colleges and universities market their goods on a multifaceted front which has the potential to attract the greatest number of investors. Quality and diversity of coursework is marketed next to sports programs, cost effectiveness, faculty qualifications, facilities, and location, among other things. Underlying all of this marketing is the fundamental principle being sold: education is a commodity every individual must have.

Local theater groups follow a similar pattern. When they advertise a specific performance, they must also convince the individual that obtaining this good has benefit for him/her. The benefit may be simple entertainment, enrichment, or may have class and cultural significance.

Every cultural organization goes through the same process demonstrated by the Florida Chautauqua: creating a disposition in clientele to “recognize a value in cultural goods and the competence which gives meaning to this disposition by making it possible to appropriate such goods” (Bourdieu, 234). Providing a good without creating a disposition in people to place value in the good will result in failure. The public will not exchange one good (money, time, etc.) for another (education, theatrical performance, etc.) unless they perceive that the exchange is comparable in value.

A study of the Florida Chautauqua also provides implications for contemporary institutions in the area of adjusting. The Florida Chautauqua was able to identify which goods would be desired by the constituency through the initial two periods of its existence. The management's successful identification provided economic rewards for the assembly. However, during the final years, the managers were not able to correctly provide goods which the public desired enough to keep the assembly in business. Institutions which provide cultural goods must always be working to provide goods which the constituency will support. The institutions must also be able to identify which constituents must be won over, whether they are the paying public, or organizations like the National Endowment for the Arts, The National Endowment for the Humanities, local groups providing funding, or other revenue sources. Inability to identify goods and constituents may lead to the institution's demise as in the case of the Florida Chautauqua.

Institutions must also be alert and able to adjust to changes in other, related institutions so that they can begin to offer goods no longer

available through other means. For example, as public education undergoes changes and experiences cutbacks in staffing and budget, the arts are frequently an initial target for deletion. As arts are no longer offered in these settings, other institutions need to meet the need and provide those goods.

Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of education and its role in art competence and the creation of a disposition to recognize value in certain cultural goods leading to appropriation provided an important framework for describing the process taking place in the Florida Chautauqua. Perhaps of greatest importance is the notion that education is not always formalized. One can gain competence not only through official, structured learning environments, but also through informal contact, listening to a concert, for example, or visiting an art museum to view paintings. The cultural competence gained through attendance at the Florida Chautauqua came in a variety of formats. The classwork provided an important avenue of instruction, but it was supplemented by many other activities. Since classwork for much of the assembly history cost extra, only those individuals with monetary resources could fully take advantage of it. The musical preludes, grand concerts, readings, lectures, demonstrations, and excursions all provided important education and exposed individuals to the concepts which would build their cultural competence. In addition, social gatherings and interaction also supplemented the learning activities. Although not specifically discussed earlier in the study, Bourdieu also addresses the effect that the improved public education system would have on cultural competence and thus on the Florida Chautauqua.

Even when the educational institution makes little provision for art training proper . . . , even when, therefore, it gives neither specific encouragement to cultural activities nor a body of concepts specifically adapted to the plastic arts, it tends on the one hand to inspire a certain *familiarity* -- conferring a feeling of belonging to the cultivated class -- with the world of art, in which people feel at home and among themselves as the appointed addressees of works which do not deliver their message to the first-comer; and on the other to inculcate . . . a *cultivated disposition* as a durable and generalized attitude which implies recognition of the value of works of art and the ability to appropriate them by means of generic categories (230).

As public education became more readily available and for longer periods of time, the public gained competence by default. General education provided them with basic tools for cultural competency, enabling them to more easily appropriate a variety of goods without having specific training.

Bourdieu does not fully address, however, how the disposition to recognize value in goods is developed other than through general education. How does one initiate the educational process to begin with? For those in public school systems the answer is fairly obvious, but for the many outside of an organized educational system the answer is less easily determined. How does a small avant garde theater group draw people into an educational setting (realizing that the setting does not have to a formalized one)? Must a group appeal to some basic, simplistic desire in the public to get them involved so that they can be educated? Probably many of the individuals who attended the Florida Chautauqua did not attend, at least initially, for education purposes. They received exposure to cultural goods through a variety of media after they arrived in De Funiak Springs. What initially drew

them to the assembly and what could that teach us about institutions today who are trying to attract clientele?

There is additional important information on the Florida Chautauqua not currently known to exist. The printed programs, sent out in advance of the assembly, served as advertisements. The correlation between the printed program and the actual assembly is unknown. The likelihood exists that there were changes in personnel and/or topics between the time the program was printed and the actual assembly. If the changes were frequent or extensive, those changes might indicate the validity of the printed matter and its role in attracting attendees.

Another important item not available to this study is the personal accounts of individuals who attended the Florida Chautauqua. The only account known to exist is McKinnon's recollection of the initial meeting. Recollections like McKinnon's provide important information about the assembly. The program information is to attract paying customers and hence is suspect. Personal accounts would provide information on the quality of the presentations, insight into social interactions, and possibly motivating factors behind an individual's attendance.

Little information exists about the performers and lecturers. While printed advertisements indicate some were part of the Chautauqua circuit, there is no widespread knowledge of who these individuals were. Programs provide information only about the individual's hometown or education affiliation. Fuller knowledge of

these individuals would provide insight into the Florida Chautauqua's participation in the national Chautauqua movement.

There are other questions which cannot be answered at this time as well. What impact did national and regional economics have on the assembly? Was the lack of an assembly in 1894 due solely to the deep economic depression of 1893? Was that depression greater in the Northwest Florida panhandle than elsewhere in the nation? What caused the radical shifts in approach to the assembly's content evident with the 1897 and 1907 assemblies? Administration stayed essentially the same between 1896 and 1897 and between 1906 and 1907; yet there are radical differences in the makeup of the programs. Were there significant national or local events that impacted these changes?

Perhaps the greatest unanswered question is what could have been done differently to keep the Florida Chautauqua a viable institution? Was the assembly doomed because it met in February when many families now had children in public education (as opposed to the summer assemblies who did not have to worry about this obstacle)? Could they have moved to a summer assembly and survived? Why has the New York Chautauqua successfully endured and the Florida Chautauqua failed?

Perhaps the most surprising answer found in the study relates the last questions. The role that public education played in the Florida Chautauqua's history is important. I believe that much of the demise of the assembly may be linked to the increased availability and quality of public education. The 1903 Blount bill made education available for twelve grades and thus eliminated a future reservoir of consumers for

the Florida Chautauqua. Families now received training in basic and supplementary subjects in school instead of needing an outside institution like the Florida Chautauqua. Education became more central to the people of Northwest Florida. As a practical concern, I believe a significant factor in the end of the Florida Chautauqua was the fact that children were now in school on set schedule which included February and March. Families were thus tied down and unable to travel and spend extended time at the assembly without handicapping the children's education and progression. This would account for the attempts by management to schedule more evening and weekend sessions at the very end of the assembly's history. This type of schedule was less demanding on families but apparently was not sufficiently enticing to draw enough participation to make the assembly economically viable.

One other item surprised me and that was the lack of knowledge current residents of De Funiak Springs have regarding the Florida Chautauqua. The town holds an annual Chautauqua festival but it has only a cursory association with the original assembly. In examining materials used to promote the current festival I found several instances where incorrect information was given. For example, one advertisement spoke about the Hall of Brotherhood, now called the Chautauqua Auditorium, mentioning that it was built in the early years of the assembly when the actual date was 1909. Individuals with whom I spoke were unable to identify where major buildings had stood and in general seemed to be unaware of the significance and scope of the Florida Chautauqua.

Numerous other areas could benefit from this study. In the area of history, scholars studying American History, Southern History, and Florida History would find valuable information. The Florida Chautauqua and this study provide valuable insight for those studying education and its development in non-traditional settings. Performance Studies scholars will find that the Florida Chautauqua is a valuable example of the transition taking place at the turn of the century from elocution to interpretation. The usage of interpretative recitals to teach literary subjects was a new approach when used in the assembly and laid the groundwork for the field in future decades. Religion scholars would find helpful information regarding religious instruction outside of the church. The Florida Chautauqua provides a microcosm of American life in many different aspects and thus is valuable in a number of areas.

The Florida Chautauqua was a significant institution in the Northwest Florida region. It provided cultural activities for its patrons for numerous years, assisting in the acquisition of cultural competence for great numbers of people. Its impact was probably great even beyond the local borders as patrons took the knowledge and competence they had received back to other locales and passed it on. Unfortunately, the assembly's lack of ability to adapt rapidly and completely enough to a changing cultural scene and thus its commercial failure, limited the life of the institution.

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APPENDIX A
INCORPORATION ACT FOR THE FLORIDA CHAUTAUQUA

SECTION 1. That C. C. Banfill, T. T. Wright, W. D. Chipley, W. J. Van Kirk, W. F. McCormick, A. H. Gillet, L. W. Plank, and such others as they may associate with themselves, are hereby constituted a body corporate for the purposes and objects and under the stipulations and regulations hereinafter mentioned.

SEC. 2. The name and title of the corporation shall be The Florida Chautauqua Association, and enjoy succession for the period of fifty (50) years, unless sooner dissolved, as hereinafter provided. Its domicile and principal business office shall be at Lake de Funiak, Walton County, State of Florida, and it shall have a corporate seal. It may contract, sue and be sued in its corporate capacity, but no shareholder shall be liable for the contracts or faults of this corporation, except by his written consent or agreement.

SEC. 3. The objects and purposes of this corporation are to establish and maintain an educational institution known as an assembly on the general plan of the Chautauqua Assembly, in the State of New York, with courses of lectures and class instruction in art, science, philosophy, history, literature, theology, and morals, and other

branches of study. The said Assembly to be located at Lake de Funiak, Walton County, Florida, and to have annual or semi-annual sessions as may be deemed expedient.

SEC. 4. It shall have power to adopt such police and sanitary regulations for the control of permanent and transient residents on its grounds as may seem to be necessary for their welfare and the safety and success of the Assembly, not inconsistent with the laws of the State in such cases made and provided.

SEC. 5. All the business of the corporation shall be under the control of a Board of Directors of seven persons, to be chosen by the shareholders representing a majority of the capital stock. The following named persons shall constitute the first Board of Directors, viz,: C. C. Banfill, T. T. Wright, W. D. Chipley, W. J. VanKirk, W. F. McCormick, A. H. Gillet, L. W. Plank. The Board of Directors shall be elected annually during the month of February on the second Wednesday at Lake de Funiak, Fla.

SEC. 6. The Board of Directors may elect annually a Board of Managers, who, together with the Board of Directors, shall have charge of the Educational work of the Assembly, but in all matters involving finance, the Board of Directors in separate session shall have authority.

SEC. 7. The officers shall consist of a President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, Executive Committee, and a Superintendent of Instruction. The duties of the President and Vice-President shall be those usually performed by such officers in deliberative bodies. The Executive Committee shall act in the absence of the Board of Directors,

and shall have full power on all questions submitted to them by either of the executive officers of the association.

SEC. 8 The Secretary or his representative shall have general supervision and direction of all the business affairs of the Association, subject to the action of the Board of Directors. The Secretary or his representative at the domicile of the corporation is hereby designated as the officer on whom all legal processes shall be served. The Secretary and Treasurer shall file with the President, or in some secure place designated by him, monthly reports of all transactions and exhibits of the condition of the corporation. The Secretary or other officer shall not have power to contract debts in excess of one hundred (100) dollars, except within limits named by the Board of Directors or by special action of the Executive Committee.

SEC. 9. The capital stock of the Association is hereby declared to be one hundred thousand dollars, with the privilege of increase to one hundred and fifty thousand dollars at any time after due notice and the consent of shareholders representing a majority of the capital stock. The capital stock shall be divided into shares of one hundred dollars each, transferable only on the books of the Association, and the surrender of outstanding certificates.

SEC. 10. The indebtedness of the Association shall not at any time exceed five thousand dollars.

SEC. 11. The income of the Association arising from the sale of real estate, gate fees, rentals, class fees, privileges and contracts, donations or appropriations, shall be used by the Directors in the erection of buildings, improvement of the grounds, and carrying forward

the educational work of the Association, and any surplus remaining may be disposed of by action of the Board of Directors.

SEC. 12. Shareholders representing three-fourths of the capital stock may at any time operate the dissolution of the corporation by serving written notice of the same on the Secretary; when thus notified, the Secretary shall immediately call a meeting of all the shareholders who shall thereupon convene and designate by a vote representing three-fourths of the capital stock their liquidators, who shall promptly close and settle its affairs without compensation. The dissolution shall not take effect until the liquidators are appointed and take possession of the property and assets.

SEC. 13. The Board of Directors may adopt such by-laws and rules as they may from time to time find necessary for the government of the Board of Directors and Board of Managers.

APPENDIX B
SAMPLE PROGRAM ANALYSIS FOR 1906

**Program Content Analysis
The Florida Chautauqua
Twenty Second Session
January 29-March 31, 1906**

Types

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 1 - Religious | 6 - Educational - Literary |
| 2 - Entertainment - music only | 7 - Educational - Chautauqua classes |
| 3 - Entertainment - speech only | 8 - Educational - other |
| 4 - Entertainment - mixed | 9 - Special Causes (WCTU, Conventions, etc.) |
| 5 - Travelogue | 10 - Other/unidentifiable |

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
1	2/4/1906 9:30 a.m.	Sunday School in the various churches		
1	2/4/1906 11:00 a.m.	Sermon	Rev. Alfred Kummer	
1	2/4/1906 5:00 p.m.	Chautauqua Sunday Vesper Service		Amphitheatre
1	2/4/1906 7:00 p.m.	Song Service	Prof. B. F. Peters	
1	2/4/1906 7:30 p.m.	Sermon	Rev. W. H. Williams	
1	2/6/1906 7:30 p.m.	Twilight Hour	Captain M. B. Pilcher	
1	2/7/1906 7:30 p.m.	Twilight Hour	Captain M. B. Pilcher	
1	2/8/1906 7:30 p.m.	Twilight Hour	Captain M. B. Pilcher	

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
1	2/9/1906 7:30 p.m.	Twilight Hour	Captain M. B. Pilcher	
1	2/11/1906 9:30 a.m.	Sunday School in the various churches		
1	2/11/1906 11:00 a.m.	Sermon	Rev. S. A Donahoe	
1	2/11/1906 5:00 p.m.	Chautauqua Sabbath Vesper Service		Amphitheatre
1	2/11/1906 7:00 p.m.	Song Service	Prof. B. F. Peters	
1	2/11/1906 7:30 p.m.	Sermon	Rev. Alexander R. Tarr	
1	2/18/1906 9:30 a.m.	Sunday School in the various churches		
1	2/18/1906 11:00 a.m.	Sermon	Rev. Earle Wilfley	
1	2/18/1906 5:00 p.m.	Chautauqua Sunday Vesper Service		Amphitheatre
1	2/18/1906 7:00 p.m.	Song Service	Prof. B. F. Peters	
1	2/18/1906 7:30 p.m.	Sermon	Rev. Samuel Phelps Leland	
1	2/25/1906 9:30 a.m.	Sunday School in the various churches		
1	2/25/1906 11:00 a.m.	Sermon	Rev. George E. Gowdy, D.D.	

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
1	2/25/1906 5:00 p.m.	Chautauqua Sabbath Vesper Service	Rev. Harry B. Vail	Amphitheatre
1	2/25/1906 7:00 p.m.	Song Service	Prof. B. F. Peters	
1	2/25/1906 7:30 p.m.	Sermon	Rev. Charles W. Sullivan	
1	3/4/1906 9:30 a.m.	Sunday School in the various churches		
1	3/4/1906 11:00 a.m.	Sermon	Rev. John W. Hancher	
1	3/4/1906 5:00 p.m.	Chautauqua Sabbath Vesper Service		Alpine Park
1	3/4/1906 7:00 p.m.	Song Service	Prof. B. F. Peters	
1	3/4/1906 7:30 p.m.	Sermon	Rev. Walter D. Cole	
1	3/11/1906 9:30 a.m.	Sunday School in the various churches		
1	3/11/1906 11:00 a.m.	Sermon	Dr. Alexander Jackson	
1	3/11/1906 5:00 p.m.	Chautauqua Sabbath Vesper Service		Alpine Park
1	3/11/1906 7:00 p.m.	Song Service	Prof. B. F. Peters	
1	3/11/1906 7:30 p.m.	Sermon	Rev. John W. Sanborn	

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
1	3/18/1906 9:30 a.m.	Sunday School in the various churches		
1	3/18/1906 11:00 a.m.	Sermon	Rev. R. D. Hollington	
1	3/18/1906 5:00 p.m.	Chautauqua Sabbath Vesper Service		Alpine Park
1	3/18/1906 7:00 p.m.	Song service	Prof. B. F. PEters	
1	3/18/1906 7:30 p.m.	Sermon	Rev. Earl Douglass Holtz	
1	3/25/1906 9:30 a.m.	Sunday School in the various churches		
1	3/25/1906 11:00 a.m.	Sermon	Rev. J. Wesley Hill	
1	3/25/1906 5:00 p.m.	Chautauqua Sabbath Vesper Service		
1	3/25/1906 7:00 p.m.	Song Service	Prof. B. F. Peters	
1	3/25/1906 7:30 p.m.	Sermon	Rev. Frank H. Gamel	
2	2/1/1906 8:00 p.m.	Concert	Otterbein Male Quartette	
2	2/3/1906 2:30 p.m.	Promenade Concert	Carrico's Band and Orchestra	
2	2/5/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
2	2/6/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	2/8/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	2/8/1906 8:00 p.m.	Concert	The Louis Bloom Concert Company	
2	2/9/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	2/10/1906 11:00 a.m.	Concert		The Louis Bloom Company, Mr. Louis blom, Violinist; Miss Mary Ellen Teal, Contralto, Miss Amelia C. Pettit, Pianist.
2	2/10/1906 2:30 p.m.	Promenade Concert	Carrico's Band and Orchestra	
2	2/12/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	2/13/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	2/15/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	2/16/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	2/16/1906 8:00 p.m.	Grand Concert	Vanderbilt University Glee Club	

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
2	2/17/1906 11:00 a.m.	Brilliant Concert	Vanderbilt University Glee Club	consisting of 28 members in Humorous and Popular Songs
2	2/17/1906 2:30 p.m.	Promenade Concert	Carrico's Band and Orchestra	
2	2/19/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	2/20/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	2/22/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	2/23/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	2/24/1906 2:30 p.m.	Promenade Concert	Carrico's Band and Orchestra	
2	2/26/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	2/26/1906 8:00 p.m.	Concert	Ohio Conservatory Concert Company	
2	2/27/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	2/27/1906 3:00 p.m.	Song Recital in Costume	Miss Mary Florence Stevens	
2	3/1/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	3/1/1906 8:00 p.m.	Concert	Lady Washginton's Quartette	

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
2	3/2/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	3/2/1906 8:00 p.m.	Concert	Bach 'Cello Company	
2	3/3/1906 11:00 a.m.	Concert	The Only Lady Washington Quartette	giving quaint and humorous melodies and familiar old-time tunes
2	3/3/1906 2:30 p.m.	Promenade Concert	Carrico's Band and Orchestra	
2	3/5/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	3/6/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	3/8/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	3/9/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	3/10/1906 11:00 a.m.	Concert		Overture, Carrico's Orchestra; Soprano Solos by the charming singer, Miss Ethel Cross, Tenor Solos by Samuel Francis Hollington, the noted English Tenor, and solos by the Boy

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
2	3/10/1906 11:00 a.m. (con't.)	Concert		Soprano, Master Edwin Higdon
2	3/10/1906 2:30 p.m.	Promenade Concert	Carrico's Band and Orchestra	
2	3/12/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	3/13/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	3/15/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	3/16/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	3/17/1906 2:30 p.m.	Promenade Concert	Carrico's Band and Orchestra	
2	3/19/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	3/20/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	3/22/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	3/23/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	3/24/1906 2:30 p.m.	Promenade Concert	Carrico's Band and Orchestra	
2	3/26/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
2	3/27/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	3/29/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	3/29/1906 3:00 p.m.	Musical Festival - "Rolling Seasons" by Galt, and "Faith and Praise," by West		under the direction of Prof. Peters
2	3/29/1906 8:00 p.m.	Musical Festival - "The Daughters of Jairus" by Dr. Stainer		under the direction of Prof. Peters
2	3/30/1906 2:30 p.m.	Band Concert	Carrico's Band	
2	3/31/1906 2:30 p.m.	Promenade Concert	Carrico's Band and Orchestra	
2	3/31/1906 3:00 p.m.	Musical Recital	Maud Powell	Violinist
3	2/12/1906 8:00 p.m.	Clever Entertainment - "Colonel Charlotte of Charlottesville"	Louis Spencer Daniel	
3	2/13/1906 8:00 p.m.	Dramatic Entertainment - "A Dramatic and Historical Sketch of Rome and Judes"	Miss Nellie Amber Crosse	
3	2/17/1906 3:00 p.m.	Miscellaneous Program	Rev. Earle Wilfley	Humorous and Dramatic Readings and Impersonations by the clever entertainer
3	2/19/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Ben Hur"	Rev. Earle Wilfley	illustrated
3	3/22/1906 3:00 p.m.	Reading - Shakespeare's "The Merchant of Venice"	Mrs. Frances Carter	

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
3	3/23/1906 8:00 p.m.	Reading - "The Spanish Gipsy"	Mrs. Frances Carter	
4	2/3/1906 11:00 a.m.	Grand Concert		Otterbein Male Quartette in Humorous Songs assisted by Mrs. R. V. Hildebrand, Reader
4	2/3/1906 8:00 p.m.	Musical Entertainment		Overture, Carrico's Orchestra; Miscellaneous Songs by the Popular Otterbien Male Quartette; Dramatic Selections by Mrs. R. V. Hildebrand, Reader; assisted by Mrs. ida Van AUken Kinley, Soprano Soloist, with Miss Cora Rand Maguire at the Piano; Closing with Stereopticon pictures of the "Madonnas" from the famous paintings of the workd, Rev. Alfred Kummer

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
4	2/10/1906 7:00 p.m.	Superb Entertainment - "Stringtown on the Pike"	Impersonations by the Clever American Character Artist Louis Spencer Daniel	Assisted by the members of the Louis Bloom Concert Company in Violin, Contralto and Piano Solos, and Mrs. Ruby Caroline Tarr, Soloist
4	2/17/1906 7:00 p.m.	Musical and Dramatic Entertainment		Bright, new and catchy songs by the Vanderbilt University Glee Club, Prof. Chas. C. Washburn, Musical Director, and Prof. A. M. Harris (Director of Public Speaking), in Dramatic Selections, Character Sketches by Miss Nellie Amber Crossen, and Moving Pictures of the Chariot Race in "Ben Hur", Rev. Earle Wilfley
4	2/24/1906 3:00 p.m.	Splendid Entertainment "Fads, Fashions and Faces"	Rev. Charles W. Sullivan	the clever Crayon Artist

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
4	2/24/1906 7:00 p.m.	Unique Entertainment and Concert		Ohio Conservatory Concert Company, consisting of Maud Rains, Contralto, Mabel Hennessey, Violinist, and Emelie Ehret Adams, Reader; Old Ballads of England, Ireland, Scotland and other nations by the wonderful Soprano, Mary Florence Stevens, in unique and picturesque costumes
4	3/2/1906 3:00 p.m.	Entertainment	Miss Bertie K. Shipley	assisted by the Lady Washington Quartette, Miss Louisa Church, pianist, and Miss Lily E. Burke, Reader
4	3/3/1906 3:00 p.m.	Musical Entertainment		Bach 'Cello Company, H.D. Barbour and H. L. Barbour in 'Cello Duets; Florella Goudy, Soprano, and Mrs. Nancy Ladd Miller, Reader

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
4	3/3/1906 7:00 p.m.	Varied Entertainment		Humorous Songs by the popular Lady Washington Quartette, Solos by the Bach 'Cello Company, Dialect Sketches by the unexcelled Dramatic Reader, Bertie K. Shipley, Piano Selections by Miss Louisa Church, and Child Impersonations by the clever Reader, Lily E. Burke.
4	3/10/1906 7:00 p.m.	Wonderful Spectacular Entertainment - "When the Toys Awake"		an arrangement of Willis Irwin's Play in a Prologue and two scenes. 100 children in the cast. Beautiful Costumes. Pretty Driolls, Marches and Tablezux, and catchy Music. A most picturesque and rare Juvenile Entertainment all in costume. Under the direction of Miss Emelie Ehret Adams.

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
4	3/10/1906 7:00 p.m. (con't.)	Wonderful Spectacular Entertainment - "When the Toys Awake"		Master Edwin Higdon, Boy Soprano and Herald, Miss Ehtel Cross as Fairy Queen and Miss Cora Rand Maguie at the piano
4	3/16/1906 3:00 p.m.	Magic	Joseffy	
4	3/17/1906 11:00 a.m.	Marvellous Entertainment - "Wireless Telegraphy"	Prof. Wm. B. Patty	Greatest Marvel of Science clearly demonstrated
4	3/17/1906 7:00 p.m.	Weird Entertainment	Joseffy	The great Necromancer, recognized as the cleverest originator in Magic, Inventor and Manufacturer of all his Paraphernalia, also a skillful Violinist. Miss Alma S. Holtz, piano soloist and Miss Ehtel Cross in her wonderful Curtan Plastiques
4	3/24/1906 3:00 p.m.	Brilliant Concert		Alexis Recital Company, consisting of Miss Martha Alexander, Violinist, Miss Edith Parker, Reader, and

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
4	3/24/1906 3:00 p.m. (con't.)	Brilliant Concert		Miss Isabel F. Verne, Dramatic Soprano
4	3/24/1906 7:00 p.m.	Grand Concert and Entertainment		Maud Poowell, America's Greatest lady Violinist; Mrs. Frances Carter, New York's Famous Reader in Recitations and Dramatic Impersonations; Mrs. Annabelle B. Thomas, the great lady Cornetist in Solos; Miss Emiline Hollis, splendid Reader in Humorous selections; Old American Scotch, Irish, and English Songs by the celebrated Tenor, Paul William Jeffries, with Prof. clarence Forsyth, the popular pianist, also solos by the well known Alexis

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
4	3/24/1906 7:00 p.m. (con't)	Grand Concert and Entertainment		Concert Copany, closing with "Music, Song and Story" Illustrated by the Edison Projectoscope (Moving Pictures) J. H. Ford
4	3/30/1906 3:00 p.m.	Readings and Impersonations	Miss Lucie Snell	assisted byt Misses Sparkes, Gustafson, and Hurt
4	3/30/1906 8:00 p.m.	Marvellous Magic	Charles E. Douglass	
4	3/31/1906 11:00 a.m.	Brilliant Concert		Overture, Carrico's Orchestra; Miss Elin Gustafson, the celebrated Contralto Singer; Miss Senora C. hurt, the popular soprano of the South; Miss Emelie Ehret Adams, the favorite Reader; Miss Isabel W. Sparkes, sweet Soprano, and Miss Lucie Snell, the great entertainer.

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
4	3/31/1906 7:00 p.m.	Wonderful Entertainment		The Prince of Modern Necromancy and Past Master of the Art of Magic, Charles E. Douglass, in his marvellous slight of hand performances, "The Butterflies" supported by Miss Irene West in the weird psychological Seance "Tachypsychography" or "A Distant Writing of the Soule" suprasing anything of its kind hitherto accomplished.
5	2/5/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Cathedrals of Europe"	Rev. Alfred Kummer	illustrated
5	2/6/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "The Land of Tell"	Rev. Alfred Kummer	
5	2/20/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Across the Rockies to the Golden Gate"	Rev. Earle Wilfley	Moving Pictures
5	2/22/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Egypt and the Pyramids"	Rev. George E. Gowdy	
5	2/23/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture - "The Wonders of Athens, Pompeii, and Mount Pelee"	Rev. George E. Gowdy	
5	2/27/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Historic Scotland"	Kenneth Bruce	Illustrated

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
5	3/5/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "A Horseback Trip Through Palestine"	Rev. Walter D. Cole	
5	3/8/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Nature's Wonders; Watkins Glen, Niagara Falls, The Mammoth Cave"	Rev. John W. Sanborn	
5	3/12/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture - "A Summer in Scotland"	Wallace Bruce	
5	3/20/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "From the Sunny South to the Land of the Midnight Sun"	J. H. Ford	
5	3/26/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Africa, from Sea to Center"	Herbert L. Bridgeman	Concert; Alexis Recital Company
6	3/8/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture - "American Poetry"	Kenneth Bruce	
6	3/19/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Literary Germany"	Rev. R. D. Hollington	
6	3/20/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Nathaniel Hawthorne"	Kenneth Bruce	
7		Art	Mrs. Elmer G. Lawrence	ribbon-embroidery, art and needle work, burnt wood and leather, Indian bead work, chair-caning, basektry and raffia
7		Chorus		
7		Music	Prof. B. F. Peters, instructor	

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
7		Physical Culture and Expression	Miss Emelie Ehret Adams	Good Reading and Speech; Dramatic Expression, and Physical Culture.
7		Pianoforte		
7		Round Table		
7		Sunday School, Normal and Bible Study		
8	1/30/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Back to Eden"	Hon. Noah Webster Cooper	
8	2/1/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Human Honey Bees"	Hon. Noah Webster Cooper	
8	2/2/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture - First Romp with the Tiger"	Rev. W. H. Williams	
8	2/2/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Simon Says Wig-Wag"	Prof. Booth Lowrey	
8	2/3/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Black Sunshine, or the Happy Southern Negro":	Prof. Booth Lowrey	illustrated by a number of original poems and sketches
8	2/5/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Last Romp with the Tiger"	Rev. W. H. Williams	
8	2/6/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Miniatures Old and New"	Miss Magda Heuermann	Illustrated
8	2/8/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture - "The Tragedy and Comedy of Human Life"	Alexander R. Tarr	
8	2/9/1906 8:00 p.m.	Address	Hon. Harview Jordan	

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
8	2/13/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Modern Manhood"	Rev. S. A. Donahoe	
8	2/15/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Muscles in Fetters"	Rev. S. A. Donahoe	
8	2/15/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "World Making"	Rev. Samuel Phelps Leland	
8	2/16/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture - "The World We Live In"	Rev. Samuel Phelps Leland	
8	2/19/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture	Mrs. A. C. Zehner	
8	2/23/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Mind and Matter"	Rev. Charles W. Sullivan	
8	2/26/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Life -- It's Mysteries"	Rev. Charles W. Sullivan	
8	3/5/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Amid the Storm"	Rev. John W. Hancher	
8	3/6/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Geronimo"	Rev. Walter D. Cole	
8	3/6/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Homeward Bound"	Rev. John W. Hancher	
8	3/9/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture	Edwin "Cyclone" Southers	
8	3/9/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Unique Ceremonies of the Iroquois Indians"	Rev. John W. Sanborn	
8	3/10/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture - "If I Were the Devil"	Edwin "Cyclone" Southers	

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
8	3/12/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Wonders of the Microscope and Telescope"	Prof. E. B. Swift	Illustrated
8	3/13/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Superstitions"	Kenneth Bruce	
8	3/13/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "The Binocular Cosmoscope"	Prof. E. B. Swift	
8	3/15/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture - "The Measure of America"	Dr. Earl Douglass Holtz	
8	3/15/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "The Face of Christ"	Rev. R. D. Hollington	
8	3/16/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Radium and Liquid Air"	Prof. Wm. B. Patty	Illustrated
8	3/19/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "An Evening with the French Canadian, Manners and Custos of the Habitant at the Present Day"	Bertha Adele Adams	
8	3/22/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "The American Boy"	Rev. Frank H. Gamel	
8	3/23/1906 3:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Winners"	Rev. Frank H. Gamel	
8/2	3/27/1906 8:00 p.m.	Lecture - "Perry's Progress Toward the Pole"	Herbert L. Bridgeman	Violin Recital, Maud Powell
9	2/10/1906 3:00 p.m.	Address "Southern Cotton Association"	Hon. Harvie Jordan	
9	2/20/1906 3:00 p.m.	Temperance Address	Mrs. A. C. Zehner	Mrs. Homer A. Nelson, President of the Day
9	3/24/1906 11:00 a.m.	Veteran's Rally	General W. L. Wittick, directing	

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
10	1/29/1906 8:00 p.m.	Addresses of Welcome	President Wallace Bruce, Mayor g. P. Henry	Overture, DeFuniak Band, Duet and Solos by Prof. and Mrs. B. F. Peters; Piano Solo by Miss Cora Rand Maguire, Soprano Solos by Mrs. Ida Van Auken Kinley.
10	1/30/1906 3:00 p.m.	Meeting in the Amphitheatre		Soprano Solos by Mrs. Ida Van Auken Kinley, Introductino of Teachers and organization of special classes
10	1/31/1906 8:15 p.m.	Informal Reception: Hotel Chautauqua		
10	2/7/1906 8:15 p.m.	Informal Reception: Hotel Chautauqua		
10	2/14/1906 8:15 p.m.	Informal Reception: Hotel Chautauqua		
10	2/21/1906 8:15 p.m.	Informal Reception: Hotel Chautauqua		
10	2/22/1906 3:00 p.m.	Address	Wallace Bruce	
10	2/24/1906 11:00 a.m.	Address	W. H. Blount, Jr.	

Type	Date/Time	Title	Speaker/Performer	Notes
10	2/28/1906 8:15 p.m.	Informal Reception: Hotel Chautauqua		
10	3/7/1906 8:15 p.m.	Informal Reception: Hotel Chautauqua		
10	3/14/1906 8:15 p.m.	Informal Reception: Hotel Chautauqua		
10	3/17/1906 3:00 p.m.	Address	Hon. N. B. Broward	Governor of Florida
10	3/21/1906 8:15 p.m.	Informal Reception: Hotel Chautauqua		
10	3/28/1906 8:15 p.m.	Informal Reception: Hotel Chautauqua		

VITA

Matthew Albert Beemer was born the fifth of sixth children and the only son of Albert and Mary Jo Beemer of Concord, Michigan. He was reared in Concord with his sisters Melissa, Melody, Molly, Martha, and Michelle through his high school years. He was graduated from Concord High School as Valedictorian of his class in 1980.

He began his college career at Pensacola Christian College in the fall of 1980 studying computer science. He received his Bachelor of Science degree in Computer Science in 1984 from Pensacola Christian College. Because of a love for performance, he entered the Master of Arts degree program in Interpretive Speech at Pensacola Christian College in 1984, working as a Graduate Assistant while completing the degree. As a Graduate Assistant he taught courses in both Computer Science and Speech. He finished his degree in 1986 performing an original monodrama on the life of Jonathan Edwards.

Matthew joined the speech faculty of Pensacola Christian College in the fall of 1986, teaching courses in Fundamentals of Speech, Oral Communications in the Professions, Voice and Diction, and Public Speaking. He began his doctoral studies in the summer of 1987. In the fall of 1989 he was named the first Dean of Communicative Arts for Pensacola Christian College, overseeing the departments of Speech, Music, Art, and Broadcasting. He served in

this capacity until the fall of 1996 when he was appointed to serve as Dean of Academic Affairs, the position he currently holds.

He is married to Judith Davis Beemer and has one child, Mahalia Anne (Haylie) Beemer. He resides in Pensacola, Florida.

DOCTORAL EXAMINATION AND DISSERTATION REPORT

Candidate: Matthew A. Beemer

Major Field: Speech Communication

Title of Dissertation: The Florida Chautauqua as Text: Creating and Satisfying a Disposition to Appropriate Cultural Goods in Northwest Florida

Approved:

Mary Frances Hopkins
Major Professor and Chairman

John W. Perkins
Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

J. Gerald Kennedy

Neil S. Brown

Bill J. Harb

Edward H. McFar

Date of Examination:

14 March 1997